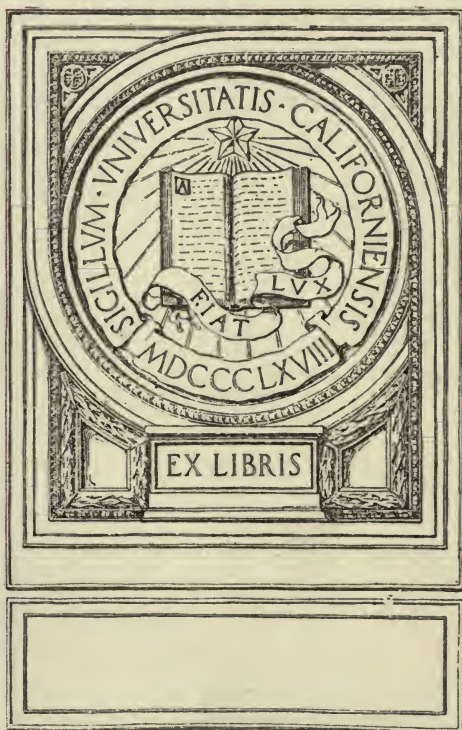


THE
MAKING
OF
EUROPE

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THE MAKING OF EUROPE

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THE MAKING OF EUROPE

A GEOGRAPHIC TREATMENT OF THE
HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF EUROPE

BY
W. H. BARKER, B.Sc., F.R.G.S.
LECTURER IN GEOGRAPHY, UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, SOUTHAMPTON

W. H. BARKER, B.Sc., F.R.G.S.

LECTURER IN GEOGRAPHY, UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, SOUTHAMPTON

AND

WILLIAM REES, M.A., D.Sc.

SOMETIME FELLOW OF THE UNIVERSITY OF WALES; FELLOW
OF THE ROYAL HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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TO VMD
AIRMAIL

PREFACE

DURING recent years it has become recognised that the broad lines of European history should be taught in conjunction with British history. Experience, however, has shown the difficulty with which pupils are confronted upon their first acquaintance with the subject. Generally, too, it has not been found practicable to carry the study beyond 1870, although the interpretation of the modern world demands it.

This book, the outcome of considerable class experience, endeavours to meet these difficulties by treating mainly those historical features having direct bearing on the development of modern Europe, by emphasising the geographic influences which have been a factor in the same development and by the continuous use of special maps. It has thus been possible to deal with the story prior to 1789 in comparative outline, the main portion of the volume being reserved for the history of the nineteenth century, particularly for that economic development which has characterised the last fifty years, making the history of Europe the history of the world.

The recent Great War and its historical causes have their place in the scheme and are treated in the final chapter, while an attempt is also made to review in the light of the past the terms of the Peace Settlements and the League of Nations.

It would be impossible to acknowledge all the authorities

from whom we have, consciously or unconsciously, drawn. We desire, however, to express our special indebtedness to Sir Halford J. Mackinder, M.P., for his stimulating lectures and his publications.

Our thanks are also due to E. C. New for assistance.

W. H. BARKER.

W. REES.

July, 1920.

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THE MAKING OF EUROPE

CHAPTER I

THE DAWN OF EUROPEAN HISTORY

(PERIOD : *Europe to the Fifth Century.*)

A MAP of the world or, preferably, a globe will show there is really but one ocean and that all land forms part of some island. The largest and most compact island is the "Old World" with the broad tract of Asia to the east, the tongue of Africa to the south, and the "shoulder" of Europe to the north-west. In the days before the discoveries of the great ocean routes, invasions of Europe could come only from the east and south, being limited actually to two natural routes, between the Urals and the Nile delta. A barrier of ice closed the northern sea, the Tundra was barren and inhospitable, and great impenetrable forests extended as far south as lat. 52° N., stretching in a broad belt from Western Europe to the Pacific Ocean. Consequently the penetration of Asia into Europe could only be effected south of the forest belt. The Saharan desert, which even to-day takes three months to cross, effectively prevented invasions into Europe either of armies or ideas from the tongue of Africa, and North Africa was, and still is, peopled either from Europe or from Asia. Europe can thus be likened to an almost closed circle with a double break on the south-east; and this isolation with a localised point of contact with the outer world has given it a political and economic history all its own. For this reason the north-west shoulder of Europe has been called a *continent*, although its

physical features are but a continuation of those of Asia, Europe and Asia together forming the *geographical continent* of Eurasia.

A vegetation map will enable you to see the easiest routes of entry from Asia to Europe. From lat. 52° N. to lat. 45° N.—and, indeed, one might say as far south as lat. 30° N.—there are extensive grassy plains broken here and there by



I.—THE OLD WORLD ISLAND.

semi-deserts. These regions were inhabited by herdmen and horsemen, nomads who wandered and still wander in search of plunder or new feeding-grounds for their stock. Horde after horde rode from Central Asia through the Gate of Dzungaria westward into Europe until checked by the forested Carpathians. The main bodies of invaders turned either into the plains of the south or the more open regions of the forest-lands of the north-west. Smaller bands pushed on through

the mountain passes or the Moravian Gate into the "island" steppe of Hungary.

These nomads, like the Huns of the fourth century A.D., "are so hardy that they neither require fire nor well-flavoured food, but live on roots and half-raw flesh. They never shelter under roofed houses, but they wander about, roaming over the mountains and the woods, and accustom themselves to bear frost and hunger and thirst from their very cradles. On horseback they buy and



KEY— The Roman Empire Mountains Deserts Tundra
Deciduous Forests Coniferous Forests

2.—THE ENTRANCE INTO EUROPE.

sell, they take their meat and drink, and there they recline on the narrow neck of their steed and yield to sleep. None of them plow or even touch a plow handle, for they have no settled abode, but are homeless and lawless, perpetually wandering with their wagons, which they make their homes."

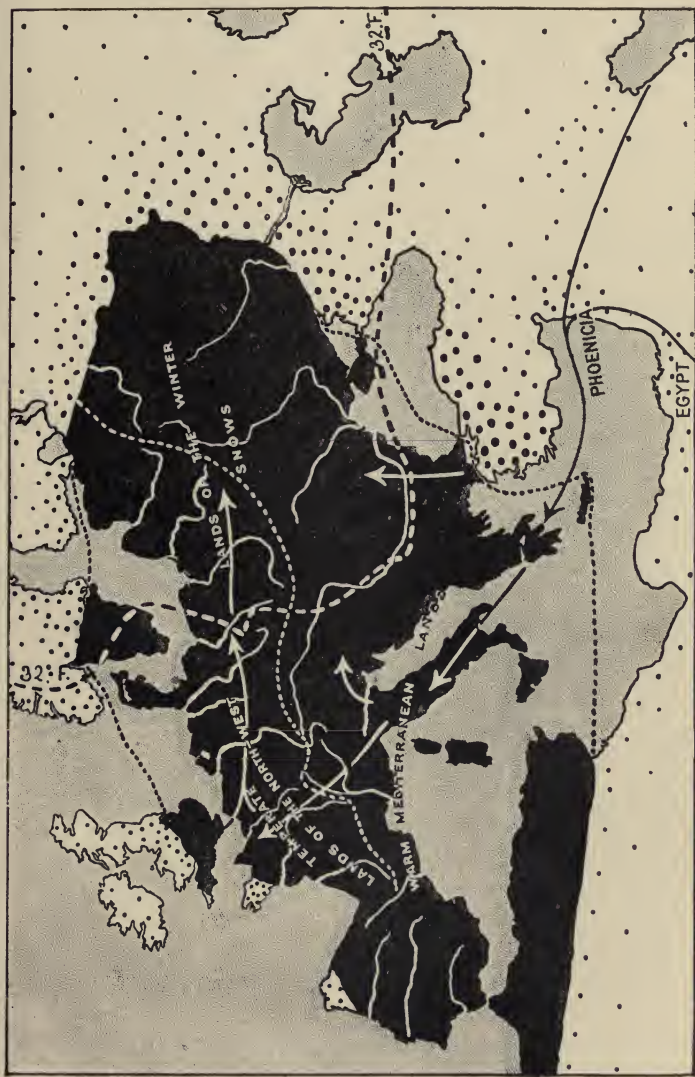
The change of environment from grass to forest land after possibly centuries of occupation, produced a change in the lives and occupations of the people. Instead of nomads they became settlers, cultivating the lands adjacent to their new

homes. Such settlements necessitated organised labour, so that laws and customs also gradually changed. The forests of Europe became dotted with village communities, each administering its own local affairs, but claiming some affinity with other communities of the same tribe. New invaders were naturally tempted to seize these lands already cleared and under cultivation, so that migration has been ever westward along certain well-marked inland routes of least resistance or along the coasts and river valleys of the Mediterranean. Among the rivers and swamps, the boat to some extent displaced the horse, so that we may say the herdmen and horsemen of Asia became the ploughmen and boatmen of Europe. Therefore, in these lands of the north-west, with their network of waterways, a new type of society developed, which differed entirely from the types of society of Asia or Africa. Many important phases of European history are the results of the struggles of the agriculturists already within the continent against the pastoralists desirous of entering.

North and South.

Those peoples who entered Europe through the Uralo-Caspian Gate differed considerably from those who crossed over from Asia Minor by way of the islands and peninsulas of the *Ægean* Sea. The former occupied the plains of the north, the latter the lands of the Mediterranean. Their racial differences were accentuated by geographical features and climate. The flow of the rivers shows that Europe, in general, slopes towards the north-west and the south-east from a watershed extending in an almost unbroken line from Mount Yalping Nor in the Urals, whence rise the Petchora and other rivers, to Mount Maladetta in the Pyrenees. The northern lands slope away from the sun, the southern lands towards it.

Climatically, Europe falls into three divisions: the Mediterranean, with its very warm, dry summer and warm, moist winter, during which cereals and other crops are grown; the north-west temperate lands, with a climate tending to



3.—INNER AND OUTER EUROPE.

The arrows show the path of civilisation through Europe.

bleakness in winter; and an eastern region, which may be taken broadly as beyond the 32° F. winter isotherm—an area icebound and for the most part, snowclad during the winter months. The peoples of the north-west remained barbarian long after the Mediterranean races had become highly civilised, while those of the frozen east even lagged behind those of the north-west.

Many European movements trace their origin to the struggle between the peoples of the north-west and those of the Mediterranean, as, for example, the expansion of the Roman Empire to the north, the barbarian invasions to the south, and the numerous attempts made by strong races from mediæval times to our own to obtain a "through route" from north to south. Not until comparatively recent times have the peoples of the east—the Russians—really begun to take their place among the nations of the world. Their history is the history of to-morrow as that of the Mediterranean is of yesterday. The history of to-day is being made in the lands of the north-west.

"Inner" and "Outer" Europe.

Historical Europe, as we have thus defined it, comprises the areas draining to the northern and southern seas. To this we should perhaps add the Atlas regions—the Barbary States—since these, from early to modern times, have been linked intimately with the lands of the opposite shores by the waterway of the Western Mediterranean. The approximate limit eastwards is a line from Petrograd along the Volga and Don to the Sea of Azov. This is "inner" Europe—the Europe of history. Surrounding "inner" Europe is a fringe of debatable land—the north-eastern states of Africa, Syria, Asia Minor, and Russia beyond the Volga—possession of which has always been subject to dispute between Europeans and Asiatics. This is "outer" Europe, to which, of course, no definite boundaries can be assigned.

The Mediterranean.

The Mediterranean is the home of European civilisation. There are many reasons for this. Situate between the forests to the north and the semi-deserts to the south, it was a transition zone in which periodicity of climate broke the hard control of the great belts of forest and desert, and allowed man to come in with his cultivated plants and domesticated animals. The warm climate mitigated the penalty of poverty; clothing and shelter were not so essential as in the north-west or in Russia, while there was no season when Nature refused to give supplies of food. The beautiful sunshine, the blue sky, and the many other pleasing features of the Mediterranean, stimulated thought rather than hard work, and thought and the exchange of thought is the necessary beginning for a higher civilisation. It was possible, too, for places in the various parts of the coast to communicate easily and freely with each other. The Mediterranean is practically tideless; therefore there are no long stretches of sandy foreshore. Boats could be landed anywhere, and towns sprang up on the open bays—*e.g.*, at Venice, Naples, Genoa, Marseilles, and Barcelona—and not at river mouths, silted up as they were with sandbanks. Great storms seldom threatened to wreck even the smallest of boats, for the leeward side of the many islands was sure to offer shelter. Neither was it necessary, except on very rare occasions, to go out of sight of land. The mountainous mainland and islands could be distinctly seen in the clear atmosphere; Mount Athos was visible from Lemnos, and Mount Olympus from Salonica, while giant Etna formed an excellent landmark for many miles around. The early civilisations were maritime, Phœnicians, Greeks, and Carthaginians being seamen and traders, with colonies or trading settlements established along the whole of the Mediterranean seaboard. These peoples interest us only in so far as they prepared the way for and influenced the civilisation of another Mediterranean state which has stamped

its mark indelibly on all European history—viz., the Roman Empire.

The Roman Empire.

Rome was essentially a land power. Her conquests were extended by well-made military roads and not on "the path of the ocean wave." She even converted her sea fights with Carthage into land battles by grappling the enemy ships, boarding them, and fighting hand to hand. South-west through Sicily to North Africa, south-east to Greece and Asia, north-west to Gaul, north to Vindelicorum beyond the Alps, and north-east to Pannonia, Rome went conquering and to conquer, until her boundary to the east was approximately the line of the Rhine-Danube-Euphrates. This vast Empire gradually came to be divided in later Roman times, on account of a line of physical barriers, into two parts, afterwards known as the Western Roman Empire and the Eastern Roman Empire. The most northerly of these barriers was the steppeland of Hungary between the Danube and the Theiss, where many an invasion from Asia spent itself. Though Rome held Dacia—*i.e.*, modern Transylvania and Rumania—she avoided and did not conquer this tongue of steppeland. The second barrier was the extensive plateau of rugged country to the south-west of Hungary. This region has never been populated to any extent, and to-day provides a precarious existence for the peoples of Bosnia, Herzegovina, Montenegro, Albania, and Serbia. The third barrier was the southern Adriatic with its harbourless coasts, so that here East and West seem to turn their back on each other. The fourth barrier was the islandless extent of the Mediterranean from the Straits of Otranto to the Gulf of Sidra, presenting as it did some difficulty to early navigation. The fifth barrier was the Sahara, which at the Gulf of Sidra reaches the shores of the Mediterranean, thus completing the broad line of division between the Eastern and Western Empires, with



4.—THE ROMAN EMPIRE.

their capitals at Constantinople and Rome. How real was the difficulty of journeying from the one town to the other may be appreciated by tracing the main highway between the two capitals. From Rome it passed up the Tiber valley, over the



5.—THE DIVIDING LINE OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE.

Apennines to Fano, south of Pesaro on the Adriatic, thence along the foot of the mountains to Placenza, eastwards to Verona and Aquileia, along the Save to Sirmium (near Belgrade), and so to Constantinople. The junction between East and West was the narrow valley of the Danube where Belgrade now stands.

Important results followed from this dual character of the Roman Empire. The west was more thoroughly conquered than the east, and this tended to give a definiteness to the western states that was lacking in those of the east. This was assisted both by geographical features and the influence of the Church, but there can be no doubt that the germs of unity in Spain, France, and England sprang from the strong military rule of the western governments. The

disunity, on the other hand, observable in the countries of the east—the States of the Danube basin and the Balkan Peninsula—may be due in part to the weak rule of the eastern government. The Western Empire was overthrown by the barbarians

in the fifth century, but its influence remained and strong nations grew up which later successfully resisted the attacks of the Muhammadan Saracens, who, in the seventh century, swarmed over from Asia and North Africa for the conquest of Europe. The Eastern Empire continued a feeble existence till the fifteenth century, thereby preventing the formation of strong European (Slav) states, which on the fall of the Empire might have imitated the west and successfully resisted the Turk. How many wars and how much bloodshed have resulted directly or indirectly from Ottoman rule which might thus have been avoided !

Roman and Greek Christianity.

The influence of the Eastern and Western Churches was even more marked than the military rule, because more lasting. In the west, the Roman Church was organised on the same principles as the civil government, the ecclesiastical divisions with their spiritual heads corresponding in general with the political areas with their civil governors. In the secular courts ecclesiastics sat side by side with the civil magistrates, and the churchmen, being the only men able to read and write, drew up deeds and treaties, made maps of territories, thus wielding enormous powers as secretaries or chancellors of the rulers.

It is important to remember this because the barbarians, when they overthrew the civil authority in the west, retained the ecclesiastics to assist in the organisation of the new territories, thereby ensuring continuity of Roman organisation and culture.

In the east, the weakness of the State was reflected in the controversies of the Church. Not only has the Greek Orthodox Church always been subservient to the State, but it has never exercised the same influence as the Roman Catholic Church, under its powerful Popes, has done in the

west. All Europe was christianised by one or other of these Churches. From Rome, Christianity spread eastwards across the Adriatic to the Slav peoples of Croatia and westwards to Spain, through Gaul to Britain and Germany, and thence to Poland and Hungary. Greek orthodoxy became the religion of the races of the Balkan Peninsula and the people of Russia. This religious factor repeatedly appears in the history of Europe, and even to-day cannot be neglected in the study of the race problems of Central Europe.

RECAPITULATION

Europe occupies the north-west shoulder of the "Old World" island, and in early times was accessible only by the grasslands of the south-east. Nomads from Asia—horsemen and herdmen—made their way in succeeding waves into the forest and permanent grasslands west of the Volga, the new environment ultimately developing a different type of people.

The watershed which extends from the Urals to the Pyrenees separates the people of the north-west, who probably entered Europe through the Uralo-Caspian Gate, from those of the Mediterranean, who crossed from Syria and Asia Minor. The racial differences have been accentuated by environment.

"Inner" Europe comprises the lands of the two great river systems, together with north-west Africa; "outer" Europe, a broad, though variable, fringe of debatable land. The Mediterranean is the home of European civilisation, due to facilities of external and internal communication and comparatively easy conditions of life in this region. Maritime races as Phœnicians and Greeks ultimately gave place to the land power of Rome, a city which extended its sway from the Atlantic to the line of the Rhine, Danube, and Euphrates. A line of physical barriers divided this empire into an eastern and western section, a division which has influenced the political and ecclesiastical history of Europe.

QUESTIONS

1. On what grounds is Europe styled "a continent"? What should then be its boundaries? Explain how far these would differ from the accepted geographical boundaries. What is meant by the terms "inner" and "outer" Europe as used in this book?

2. Write a short essay on the Mediterranean Sea as the cradle of early civilisations, laying particular emphasis on the westward trend of those civilisations.

CHAPTER II

MIGRATIONS OF THE BARBARIANS—THE EMPIRE OF CHARLEMAGNE

(PERIOD : *Fifth to Ninth Centuries.*)

BEYOND the Rhine-Danube frontier of the Roman Empire in the forests or by the marsh-girt rivers and coasts dwelt barbaric races of whose early history we know little or nothing. By the close of the fourth century the scattered village communities had been drawn together into tribes or confederacies by ties of common blood, common speech, common social and political institutions. The Franks, in two great divisions, occupied the lower Rhine and the delta. Higher up the river, in the angle between the Rhine and Danube, dwelt the Suevi (Suabians) and Allemanni. On the low-lying plains bordering the German Ocean or North Sea lived the Frisians, Saxons, Angles, and Jutes. Lombards occupied the valley of the Elbe, and Burgundians the lands to the south. Between the Oder and the Vistula were numerous bodies of Vandals, and beyond them extended the lands of the almost unknown Slavonic peoples. On the borders of the Black Sea lived the Goths in two great confederacies, the East Goths (Ostrogoths) and West Goths (Visigoths). These latter peoples had already traversed an ancient trade route between the Baltic and Black Seas, the valleys of the Niemen, Duna, and Dnieper rivers, from an original home in Scandinavia (*cf.* Gothland).

The little we know of these barbaric tribes leads us to think they were land-holders and land-tillers, settlers and not

nomads, although with the fourth century a migration commenced which took them far from their settlements in search of new homes. Necessity, not choice, impelled them to move.

The Roman historian Tacitus described the more westerly tribes as pasturing cattle on the forest glades around their villages and ploughing their village fields. One characteristic which at once struck him as distinguishing them from the civilised world of Rome was their hatred of cities and their love of a jealous independence even within their little settlements. They had, too, an intense love of freedom, while justice rested not on the whim of one man, but on the judgment of the whole body of freemen within the community. Englishmen are particularly interested in these people, more so than in the Romans, for our own constitution has sprung from the "customs" of some of these tribes—the Angles, Saxons, and Jutes. The low-lying coasts from the River Ems to the Skaw is the home of our own race and of many of those institutions which are the pride and privilege of the English.

"It is with a reverence such as is stirred by the sight of the headwaters of some mighty river that one looks back to the tiny moots, where the men of the village met to order the village life and the village industry, as their descendants, the men of a later England, meet in Parliament at Westminster, to frame laws and do justice for the great empire which has sprung from this little body of farmer-commonwealths."

Barbarian Migrations.

The movement of the peoples, the *Völkerwanderung* of German writers, which commenced with the opening of the fifth century, is traceable no doubt to many causes. Love of adventure and, in the case of those tribes acquainted with the wealth of the Empire, the prospect of plunder partly explain the restlessness of the Teutonic tribes. The general and westward character of the movement was due to other





causes. It was the result, in the first place, of a terrific blow struck on the peoples to the north of the Black Sea by the Huns, who were forcing their way into Europe along the "grassy road." The blow was transmitted from race to race, until those tribes who lived on the Roman frontier were compelled by pressure from the east to hammer at the fortifications and force their way into the Western Empire. Saxons, Angles, and Jutes crossed the North Sea and laid the foundations of the English race in these islands. Franks spread into Gaul; Suevi, Allemanni, and Burgundians passed the Alps into Italy and South Gaul. Goths crossed the Danube and threatened the Eastern Empire. The whole movement was epoch-making and the routes of many tribes were so important that we will follow them in a little more detail.

The **Vandals** and **Suevi** seem to have moved south-westward from their homes in the lower Oder and Vistula valleys. They appear to have rested awhile as neighbours of the Allemanni in the hilly and plateau districts immediately north and east of the Alps and Black Forest. Within the first decade of the fifth century they crossed into Italy and South Gaul by the many Alpine passes and the Burgundian Gate. They overran South Gaul, but a steady pressure from other tribes forced them into Spain (*cf.* Vandalusia), where for a time they held rule over the Roman provincials. The coming of the West Goths from the Balkan Peninsula, via North Italy, drove the Suevi towards the north-west of Spain, where they sought refuge behind the Cantabrian Mountains, and hurried the crossing of the Vandals from Spain to North Africa. There, under King Genseric, they carved for themselves out of the African province of the Roman Empire a new kingdom.

About the same time, probably accompanying the Vandals and Suevi came the **Burgundians** from the plains of the north. They passed through the "Burgundy" Gate into the valleys of the Saône and Rhone, but were prevented from

advancing to the sea, because the Rhone valley below the Gate of Montélimar had been occupied by the West Goths. Thus was established the kingdom of Burgundy.

Certain sections of the **Allemanni** probably migrated in company with Suevi, Vandals, and Burgundians, but the main body seems to have remained in the little farmer-commonwealths off the great natural routes and was evidently less molested than their neighbours by the Hun invasions.

Angles, Saxons, and Jutes fled in their boats across the sea to Britain, driving the Celts to the mountains of the west and settling on the agricultural lands of the east. Britain became Angle-land.

The effect of the Hun invasion on the Goths was to drive them into the Eastern Empire. Unable to hold settlements there, the **West Goths**, under Alaric, migrated through Illyria, following the Roman road over the Julian Alps into Italy. Three times did Alaric besiege Rome, each time with success. Shortly afterwards he died while in the south of Italy, and his successor led the Goths into Gaul, where they held back the Burgundians at Montélimar and drove the Suevi and Vandals into Spain. The West Goths then passed the Pyrenees and occupied the Iberian Peninsula, the Suevi seeking refuge behind the Cantabrians and the Vandals crossing into North Africa. The Visigothic kingdom—capital, Toulouse—extended from the Gates of Poitou and Montélimar to the southern shores of Spain.

Unlike the tribes who left their original homes in the north and north-west of Europe to establish new kingdoms in the lands of the Mediterranean, the **Franks** spread across the Rhine into Gaul, still retaining their hold on the lands east of the river. This retention of their own lands gave the Franks a base for further operations and a reservoir of manpower, which accounts largely for the powerful empire they succeeded later in building up in the west.

We have already noted the effect of the first shock of

Attila and his **Huns** on the European society of boatmen and ploughmen. It had compelled the tribes of the north to attack and conquer the people of the south. By the middle of the fifth century Attila had advanced through Europe and stood on the frontier of Gaul with its mixture of peoples, Roman provincials, Franks, Goths, and Burgundians. What would be the effect of another Hun blow? Attila succeeded in advancing to the Gate of Poitou, when he learned that the various peoples, instead of scattering, were uniting to cut him off. He fell back to the Marne, and there, at Châlons (451), was fought the battle which decided for a time the fate of Western Europe. Attila was defeated and retreated towards Hungary, where he died in A.D. 454. The effect of Attila's blow against Gaul, therefore, was exactly the reverse of that which had scattered the tribes. This was the beginning of the hammering process which ultimately welded the heterogeneous peoples of France into the modern nation of the French.

Odoacer and Theodoric.

In Italy, the Romans, though sorely pressed by barbarians who poured over the eastern, central, and western Alps, succeeded in maintaining some semblance of authority. The attack which shattered the Western Empire actually came from the ranks of the Roman legions themselves. For a long time the Emperors had recruited their armies from surrounding tribes, and some of the barbaric leaders rose to a high position. Such a person was Odoacer, who, because the Emperor refused a request for land, led his followers—the Heruli—to the conquest of Italy. The last of the emperors, Romulus Augustulus, was deposed (A.D. 476), and Odoacer exercised regal powers within the peninsula. His kingdom was short-lived, for by this time the East Goths had begun to move westward from the Eastern Empire into Pannonia and thence towards the Julian Alps. In A.D. 489 Theodoric, their



7.—EUROPE IN A.D. 526.

leader, crossed the Schön Pass, defeated Odoacer, and established the East Gothic kingdom of Italy.

By the end of the fifth century the northern tribes had overrun the Western Empire, and on its ruins had raised the six kingdoms of the English, Franks, Burgundians, Visigoths, Vandals, and Ostrogoths.

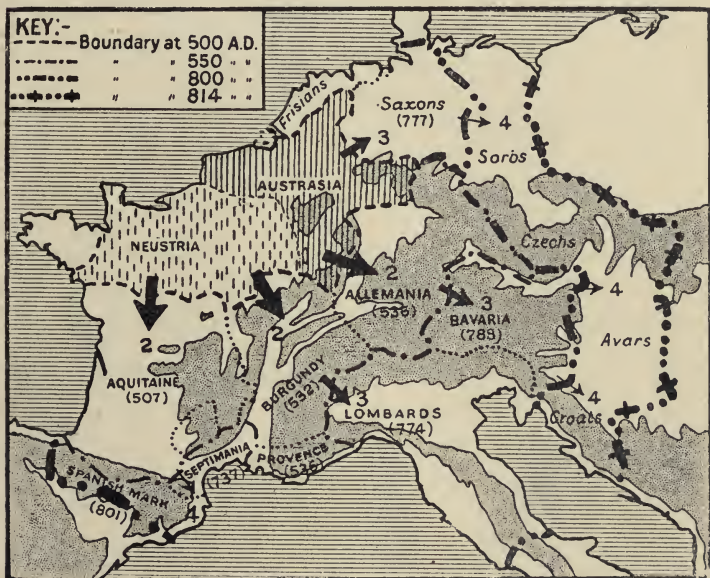
Meanwhile in the east there was a revival of the military power of the Empire, which, like the Frankish conquests in the west, altered the political map considerably. A series of attacks on the Vandals led to the extinction of their kingdom, and the successes of Belisarius and Narses, two Imperial generals, brought about the fall of the East Gothic kingdom of Italy and the re-establishment of Byzantine control as a sea-power in the greater part of the Mediterranean.

The defeat of the Ostrogoths was particularly unfortunate for Italy. Had they succeeded in beating off the attacks of the Imperial troops, they might have founded a strong kingdom of Italy and saved the country from constituting the sport of kings and cardinals from the Middle Ages to the establishment of the modern kingdom in A.D. 1870. As it was, the evacuation by the Goths allowed the **Lombards** beyond the Alps to enter. They overran the plain of the Po—henceforth called Lombardy—established two duchies, Beneventum and Spoleto, at strategic points to isolate Rome, thus wresting North Italy, with the exception of Venice and Ravenna, from the Emperor.

Frank Conquests.

Of the numerous kingdoms established by the barbarians on the territory of the Western Roman Empire, that of the Franks rose to special prominence in the development of the map of Europe. Clovis, who was crowned king of the Salian Franks at Tournai in A.D. 481, is generally regarded as the founder of the French monarchy. His reign is one long record of conquest. Within five years he had overthrown the

remnant of Roman rule in Gaul. Ten years later he defeated the Allemanni at Cologne and annexed part of their territory. Brittany and Burgundy became tributary to him, and a victory over the Visigoths near Poitiers gave him Aquitaine and Toulouse. In A.D. 510, by the murder of all the chieftains, he became sole ruler of the Franks.



8.—GROWTH OF THE FRANK KINGDOM.

From their original home on the lower Rhine the Franks spread into the Paris Basin, whence they struck outward in three directions, viz.: (a) Through the Poitou Gate into Aquitaine; (b) over the low Plateau of Langres into the Rhone Basin; (c) through the Lorraine Gate. Later, expansion was carried eastward along the Northern Plain and the Basin of the Danube, south-eastward into Italy and the Drave-Save valleys.

The victory of the Allemanni was followed by the conversion of Clovis and the Franks to the Roman religion, and the triumph of the Franks over the other "barbaric" rulers of Gaul is in part accounted for by the conversion of the Franks to the western form of Christianity, already the religion of the

subject peoples of Gaul. The Goths, on the other hand, were "Arians,"* holding a belief which they had received when neighbours of the Eastern Empire, and which to Latins was worse than paganism. It can readily be understood, therefore, that the Gallic people preferred the Frank to the Goth and made the task of driving the Goths into Spain more easy than would otherwise have been the case. By the middle of the sixth century the Franks had extended their conquests through the Gate of Poitou against the Goths, into the Saône-Rhône valley against the Burgundians, and eastwards to the Elbe against the Slavs.

We have already said that the Franks accepted the Roman form of Christianity—the religion of their new subjects. The Church thus formed a link between rulers and ruled. It also formed a link between the old Roman order that was rapidly passing away and the new Germanic order that was slowly coming in. We saw in the last chapter how churchman and governor sat side by side in the courts. When the Frank came, he replaced the governor but retained the churchman. As the new lord was often illiterate and ignorant, he left much of the administration to the churchman, making him his secretary and adviser. Thus Church and State retained their connection and the forms of government remained much the same as before, except in certain details where the Frank considered his own Teutonic laws superior to the Roman.

For three hundred years the Franks continued to build up their kingdoms in Gaul and Germany, incidentally and at times intentionally extending the boundaries of the Church. As the Frankish ruler came west, the Roman bishop went east, and the division between Austrasia and Neustria—the two divisions of the Frank Empire—became more and more pronounced.

* A "heresy" which insisted on the *unity* as opposed to the *tri-unity* of the Godhead.

Saracens.

One particular incident shows how the Franks were becoming the champions of Catholicism. The Asiatic boundary of the Eastern Empire was giving way before the Saracens, who swarmed over Syria, Egypt, and North Africa. Under Tarik,* Muhammadan horsemen crossed into Spain from Africa, defeating the West Goths in several battles and advancing into Gaul as far as the Gate of Poitou. Here was fought the decisive battle between Frank and Saracen for the possession of Western Europe. At the battle of Tours (or Poitiers), A.D. 732, the Franks repulsed the invaders by such blows that their leader was afterwards known as "Charles the Hammer" (Martel).

The Carolingian Empire.

We cannot do more than indicate the events which led, under the descendants of Charles, to the development of a vast Frankish Empire, which reproduced many of the features and the traditions of the Roman Empire that had passed away. During the century and a half following the death of Clovis, the Merovingian sovereigns, as they were called, both in Austrasia and Neustria, became mere puppets, the real power resting with their chief advisers or "Mayors of the Palace." In A.D. 687 Pepin d'Héristal, Mayor or Governor of Austrasia, defeated the Neustrians and made himself master of France. It was his son, Charles the Hammer, who defeated the Saracens at the battle of Tours (A.D. 732), a victory which raised his family to great importance in Western Europe.

Pepin, son of Charles, resolved to terminate the fiction of kingship in power but not in name. With the consent of the nobles and the Pope, he deposed the Merovingian sovereign and was himself crowned King of the Franks. Thus commenced the line of "the Carolingians," and with it an alliance

* Hence, Gibraltar = *Gibel al Tarik*, the rock of Tarik.

between the Franks and the Papacy. The Pope or Bishop of Rome hated the Lombards (whom we have seen overrunning Italy) both as "Arians" and as conquerors. He called upon Pepin to aid him, and, crossing by the Alpine passes, Pepin inflicted defeat on the Lombards and captured Ravenna and Ancona, which he bestowed upon the Pope. Thus commenced the temporal sovereignty of the Popes.

Within a short time of Pepin's death his son Charlemagne (Charles the Great) succeeded to the whole of his dominions* and raised the Frankish power to its greatest height.

"Charles was large and robust, of commanding stature and excellent proportions, measuring in height seven times the length of his own foot. The top of his head was round, his eyes large and animated, his nose somewhat long. He delighted in the natural warm baths, frequently exercising himself by swimming. He wore the dress of his native country, *i.e.*, the Frankish; next his body linen garments, then a tunic with a silken border, and stockings. He bound his legs with garters and wore shoes on his feet. In the winter he protected his shoulders and chest with a vest made of the skins of otters and sable. He wore a blue cloak and was always girt with his sword, the hilt and belt being of gold and silver."

For thirty years (775-805) Charles waged unremittent war against the Saxons, ruthlessly compelling them to accept the supremacy of the Franks and the religion of Rome. He renewed the attack on Italy, overthrew the Lombards, annexed their kingdom, and was crowned King of the Lombards at Milan (774). Four years later he invaded Spain but was repulsed, his rearguard being destroyed at the Pass of Roncesvalles. The death of Roland, Prefect of the Marches, has been immortalised in the "*Chanson de Roland*."† In

* According to Salic law, the inheritance was divided among the sons. Thus Pepin's dominions were divided between his sons Charles and Carloman. On the death of Carloman, Charles became sole ruler A.D. 771.

† Cf. the legends of King Arthur of the British in Tennyson's "*Idylls of the King*."

795 a further attack was made and the March of Spain formed between the Ebro and the Pyrenees. The following year a successful war against the Huns carried the territories of Charlemagne to the Danube.

Increase of power and territory had raised Charlemagne to the foremost position in Europe, and now he was about to receive Imperial honours at the hands of the Pope. On Christmas Day, A.D. 800, an event of exceptional importance occurred. While Charlemagne was attending Mass in St. Peter's, Rome, amid a great concourse of ecclesiastics and nobles, the Pope placed on Charles's head a golden crown, while the Roman populace cried aloud, "Long life and victory to the mighty Charles, the great and pacific Emperor of the Romans, crowned of God!" The title revived in a practical manner the dignity of the Western Roman Emperors, and thus commenced the Holy Roman Empire, which lasted till 1806,* when, with many other institutions of mediævalism, it passed away as the result of the wars of Napoleon.

RECAPITULATION

At the close of the fourth century the barbaric races east of the Rhine-Danube frontier commenced to invade the Roman Empire and form new settlements in the west. This great migration of the peoples was due largely to the blows struck by the Huns on the settled races of Europe. Angles, Saxons, and Jutes crossed over to Britain; Franks spread to North Gaul; Vandals and Suevi migrated to South Gaul and thence to Spain; Burgundians occupied the Saône-Rhône valley. In the east, Visigoths left the lower Danube, harassed Italy, conquered and occupied Spain, driving the Vandals across to North Africa. The great Hun attack was finally broken at Chalons-sur-Marne (A.D. 451).

The Western Empire completely collapsed when Odoacer

* Some historians prefer to date the Holy Roman Empire from the reign of Otto I. (A.D. 962), the first *German* King to be crowned Emperor by the Pope.

deposed the last Emperor, Romulus Augustulus, and became himself king of Italy. Odoacer was overthrown almost immediately by Theodoric and an Ostrogothic kingdom established. Thus by the end of the fifth century there were established on the ruins of the Western Roman Empire six new kingdoms—viz., those of the English, Franks, Burgundians, Visigoths, Vandals, and Ostrogoths.

In the west, the Franks gradually annexed Burgundy and south-west Gaul; in the east the Emperor destroyed the kingdoms of the Vandals and Ostrogoths and re-established his authority over the greater part of the lands of the western Mediterranean. Towards the end of the sixth century, the Lombards overran Italy and the sovereignty of the Emperor became limited to the maritime districts of Ravenna, Venice, Naples, and the south.

Under the Carolingians, the Franks developed a powerful empire. The Saracens were defeated at Tours (A.D. 732), the Lombards of North Italy subdued (A.D. 755-756), and lands to the east conquered as far as the Danube. On Christmas Day, A.D. 800, the Pope crowned Charlemagne Emperor of the Romans, and thus commenced the "Holy Roman Empire."

QUESTIONS

1. Show how the position of Rome favoured the rise of an independent city under the rule of its bishop during the period of the barbarian irruptions.

2. Show by diagrams the position and importance of (i) the Burgundian Gate (ii) Gate of Poitou, (iii) the Gate of Carcassone. Give in each case one incident showing how they have influenced historical events.

CHAPTER III

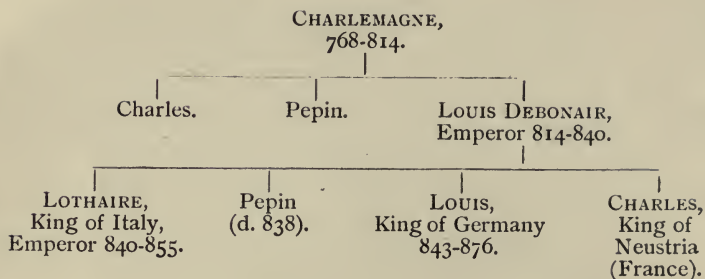
THE MIDDLE AGES

(PERIOD : *Ninth to Thirteenth Centuries.*)

THE Golden Age of Charlemagne contrasted strangely with the chaos and strife which followed that monarch's death. The empire which he had built up by sheer hard fighting and had maintained by a strong administration fell to pieces as a result of civil war and of barbaric and Muhammadan invasions. The fatal Teutonic practice of partitioning the kingdom among all the sons resulted in a constant redivision of the Frankish Empire, thus tending towards disintegration. Of the many partitions which followed the death of Charles, one in particular is important, because therein can be discerned the beginnings of modern France, Germany, and Italy, and the long stretch of debatable land from Holland to Savoy, which has been and continues to be a frequent cause of war.

Partition of Verdun, 843.

Charlemagne had handed on his empire intact to his son Louis, but on the death of the latter his younger sons refused to acknowledge their elder brother as sole ruler. They defeated him at Fontenay in the valley of the Yonne, the slaughter being great on both sides. "By that day," says an old chronicler, "the strength of the Franks was so cut down and their fame and their valour so diminished, that for the future they were not merely unable to extend the bounds of their realms, but even incapable of protecting their own frontiers."



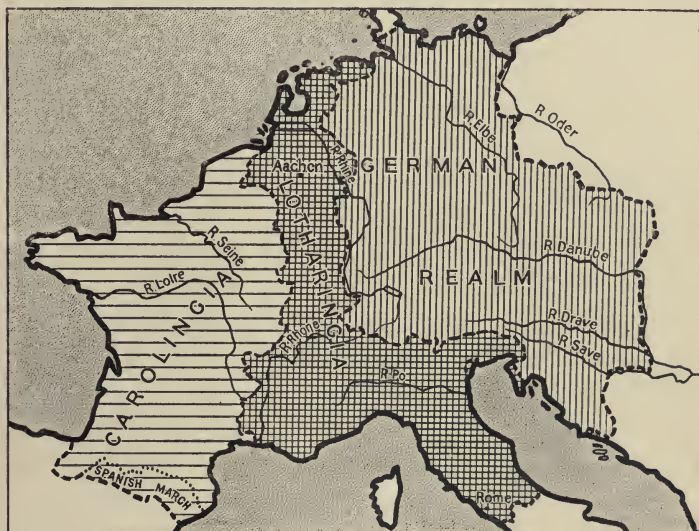
The brothers agreed to the Partition of Verdun (843), as it is called, by which the Frankish kingdom was divided among the three surviving sons of Louis. Charles obtained the territory to the west, Louis the lands to the east, and Lothaire the narrow strip from Flanders to the Mediterranean, together with the title of Emperor.

The western realm of Charles is the basis of modern France. The kingdom of Louis is the beginning of modern Germany, for the long reign of Louis (843-876) gave Saxon and Franconian, Bavarian and Swabian, time to grow together and learn to regard themselves as a nation. The "middle kingdom" had no link except that of the person of the Emperor, and the choice of such an elongated piece of territory by Lothaire seems to have been determined in order that he might hold the Frankish capital, Aachen, and the Imperial capital, Rome. Unlike Carolingia (the territory of Charles) and the Teutonic Realm (the territory of Louis), the middle kingdom of Lotharingia lacked compactness and tended geographically and racially to break up into three distinct regions with numerous subdivisions, only one of which—the southern, Italy—has been able to grow into a modern state comparable with France and Germany. Teutonic Austrasians, Romance-speaking Burgundians, and Italian Lombards had no connection with each other, either of blood, language, or historical ties, and the region from

→ all originally Teutonic!

Flanders to Provence is a political "fault-line" with broken fragments of neutral states, or debatable land filling in the fissure.

As in the fourth and fifth centuries barbaric invasions had shattered and overthrown the Roman Empire, so during the ninth and tenth centuries the empire of Charlemagne staggered under the blows of new hordes of invaders, whose



9.—PARTITION OF VERDUN, A.D. 843.

opportunity came with the fratricidal wars which rent the empire. Vikings ravaged, burnt, and plundered the coasts of the north and west; Saracens captured and occupied many islands and headlands of the Mediterranean; Magyars poured through the Vienna Gate to harass Bavaria and the German lands up to the Rhine; Slavs threw off their allegiance and attacked the eastern marches.

The Northmen.

The most pressing danger to the new rulers came from the Northmen. Towards the close of the eighth century, the peoples of Scandinavia and Denmark began their piratical raids across the North and Baltic Seas. The Swedes crossed the Baltic, attacked the Finns and Slavs and occupied the southern shores—a fact to which we shall have occasion to refer when we come to study the rise of Russia. Vikings (Norwegian) and Danes followed two routes over the North Sea, one to the Shetlands and Ireland and possibly to Iceland, Greenland, and North America, the other through the English Channel to the Atlantic. Towards the close of the eighth century they attacked places as far apart as Wareham and Lindisfarne, Ireland and Aquitaine. With the opening of the ninth century they devastated the Frisian and Atlantic coasts. They sailed up the rivers, burnt and plundered the towns—Utrecht (835), Antwerp (836), Rouen and Paris (845) Bordeaux (847)—and established by A.D. 860 permanent settlements at the mouths of the Somme, Seine, Loire, and Garonne.

An old chronicler laments :

“The rage of the Northmen was let loose upon the land. They thirsted for fire and slaughter ; they killed Christian people and took them captive and destroyed churches ; and no man could resist them. The Franks made ready to oppose them, not in battle, but by building fortifications to prevent the passage of their ships.”

In 867, Danes and Vikings massed for an attack on England, and from the capture of York (868) to their defeat by Alfred at Edington (878), the Frank lands were left in comparative peace. Then the attacks recommenced. A great victory near Hamburg, in which one duke, two bishops, and twelve counts lay dead on the field, enabled the Danes to ravage the whole of the Elbe valley. In 882 they sacked

Aachen itself, plundered the palace, stabled their horses in the great cathedral, and broke the shrine and image above the tomb of Charles the Great. The whole countryside was devastated, and it looked as though the Danes were designing to subdue the whole country and settle down as they had done in the Danelaw.

It is an interesting study on land and sea power to note that while the Teutonic invasions of the fifth century culminated in the empire of Charlemagne, the conquests of the Northmen brought within the bounds of possibility under Cnut (1014-1035) a great northern empire based on the North and Baltic Seas.

Throughout the period of utter chaos and confusion of these Danish invasions there had been at least a nominal Emperor, and in 884, through death or minority of heirs, the several divisions of the Carling lands, comprising the whole empire of Charlemagne (except Provence), passed under the sceptre of his descendant Charles the Fat. But the weakness of the new ruler contrasted with the strength of his great namesake. In 887 he was deposed and his kingdom partitioned. Hitherto the divisions had always been among members of the Carling house. The Frankish Empire was now divided into five states—not heritage partitions, but more permanent divisions; three—France, Germany, and Italy—representing national differences, while even the two small states of Upper and Lower Burgundy had a national coherence and individuality of their own, which prevented them from coalescing entirely then or since with their larger neighbours.

The new rulers were nobles who had risen to prominence



10.—EMPIRE OF CNUT
(1014-1035).

during the stormy times of the barbaric invasions. Odo, Count of Paris, who had held the city for eleven months against 40,000 Vikings, was elected King of France, and Berengar, Duke of Friuli, became King of Italy. In Germany, the crown passed to Arnulf, nephew of Charles, but on the death of his son Louis (911) even here the nobles followed the



II.—THE CAROLINGIAN EMPIRE—PARTITION OF A.D. 887.

example of France and Italy and chose as their new king Conrad of Franconia, because of his great military abilities and his powerful position.

Feudalism.

The collapse of the Frankish Empire was not followed at once by the development of those national units which we saw foreshadowed in the Treaty of Verdun and the settlement of 887. The immediate result was the uprise of feudalism, where

every lord of a castle ruled his own domains like a little king. The old national levy, called together with difficulty and able to move but slowly from place to place, was useless to meet the attacks of daring sea-rovers of the Atlantic and Mediterranean or the rapidly-moving horsemen from Hungary. New methods of attack called forth new methods of defence, and enormous powers accrued to the local lords, on whom fell the chief task of resisting the invaders.

Bridges with fortified bridge-heads were thrown across the chief rivers, and strong walled towns offered some protection against surprise attacks. But the real defence depended upon the heavy cavalry of the local lords and their castles erected at strategic points. For nearly four centuries the mailclad feudal horseman was invincible in battle and the stone-built feudal castle impregnable except to famine. A freeman, cultivating his own land, found it advisable to seek the protection of some lord by becoming his "man," and lesser lords became the vassals of greater nobles. The whole drift of the time was towards what is called *feudalism* and towards the making of a limited number of tenants-in-chief, where dukes, margraves or counts were the only persons with whom the King or Emperor had any direct relations. The old tie of national allegiance that bound every subject to his sovereign disappeared before the new link of feudal dependence of vassal on lord. By the middle of the tenth century real authority was vested in the great feudatories whose possessions often corresponded with geographical and racial units, as in Brittany, Normandy, Burgundy, Saxony, Swabia, and Bavaria, which even to-day are distinguishable within the nations of which they form part.

Nationalism.

The feudal system saved Europe from its external enemies, but it now became necessary to save Europe from the evils of feudalism, and to replace the multitude of petty feudal

chieftains by a powerful king administering a strong, well-ordered state. Such unification was accomplished only after prolonged struggle, if it can even now be said to be entirely accomplished. The great debt which England owes to the Norman William is that he did almost at a blow what on the Continent it took centuries to accomplish.

The task in France fell to the Capetians, the descendants of Hugh Capet, Duke of Paris, who, a feudatory himself, was chosen King of France in 987.

He was elected because "he is the most illustrious among us all by reason of his exploits, his nobility and his military following. Not only the state, but every individual interest will find in him a protector. Who has ever fled to him for aid and been disappointed? Who that has been left in the lurch by his friends has he ever failed to restore to his rights?"

Unlike the Carolingians, the Capetians had no claim to rule beyond the limits ascribed to the West Frankish kingdom by the Treaty of Verdun. They were kings of the French, the new Romance people that had grown up as the result of the amalgamation of conquering Frank and conquered Roman. In the work of unification the kings were often unconsciously assisted by the sovereigns of England, and enabled to carry out schemes which, unaided, they could not so easily have accomplished. Thus Henry II., by holding vast territories from the English Channel to the Pyrenees, directly assisted in the process of unification; while in the wars with Henry's sons, Richard and John, the French King was not only able to annex, but could actually appear as the saviour of the French against their English overlord. Philip Augustus (1180-1223) made France a great state and nation, and the strongest feudatories found it prudent to be on good terms with their mighty overlord. Under Louis (1226-1270), it was possible to divide all France into great provinces and at the head of each to place a royal official, who roughly corresponded with the

sheriffs in England. These officials administered justice, collected revenue, and were charged with the superintendence of the royal relations with neighbouring feudatories, as well as with the administration of their own districts.

The early possibilities of Germany and Italy becoming national states, as foreshadowed by the Treaty of Verdun, were stifled by a combination of causes which we can merely indicate. Germany became a federation of great duchies, four—Saxony, Franconia, Bavaria, and Swabia—having strong national characteristics. Often the duke of the strongest nation took precedence over the others with the title of King. But neither Saxon Ottos, Franconian Henrys, nor Swabian Fredericks were able to convert a nominal overlordship into an actual sovereignty, except perhaps Henry III. (1039-1056) and Frederick Barbarossa (1153-1190). Even had the German kings been able to weld the four nations together, the dukes, counts, and margraves who held the marchlands on the northern and eastern frontiers would have resented the restrictions of a central authority. These *marks* became vigorous military states possessing more energy and martial prowess than the purely Teutonic lands west of the Elbe. Two—the North Mark (Brandenburg), commanding the lines of the Baltic coast and the Oder valley, and the East Mark (Austria), holding the Vienna and Moravian Gates—were destined to play a part of extreme importance in the future history of Germany.

The difficulties which postponed the unification of Italy till the nineteenth century were in some respects different from those of Germany and France. The land south of Rome had never formed part of the empire of Charlemagne, and during the eleventh and twelfth centuries it passed into the hands of Norman adventurers, who built up in Sicily and the south a well-organised state. In the north, many towns, such as Milan, Verona, Venice, and Genoa, virtually became independent states, whilst central Italy was claimed by the

Papacy. The continuous disputes arising out of conflicting interests in the north, centre, and south served to keep Italy, like Germany, but "a geographical expression."

We do not intend to recount in detail the history of the long period of the Middle Ages. Each country or nation was chiefly concerned with its own affairs and was unconsciously preparing for the mighty struggles continued to our own day in the remaking of Modern Europe. There were few common interests except the general desire of Christendom to recover the Holy Places of Jerusalem from the Saracen, and the interest which the ecclesiastical and intellectual world took in the disputes between Pope and Emperor or in the establishment of the numerous monastic orders.

Empire and Papacy.

From the revival of the German kingdom sprang the Holy Roman Empire of the Middle Ages, beginning with the coronation of Otto the Great (A.D. 962) and including all the empire of Charlemagne except the West Frankish states. The ideal of the new empire was a kingdom of God on earth, in which Pope and Emperor ruled in harmony over a world that enjoyed perfect peace and idyllic happiness. In reality, throughout the empire there were two parties who supported the rival claims of Pope and Emperor for supremacy, the contest raging first over investitures and later over the temporal sovereignty of the Papacy. The one claimed to be the Vicar of Christ and therefore lord of all kings; the other, as nominal grantor of all land, demanded the allegiance of all holders.

"The Church, redeemed and made free by the precious blood of Jesus Christ, may in no way become a slave again. Now if the Church cannot choose a prelate without the permission of the emperor, *she* is subject to him, and Christ's death is made of no avail. To invest with the ring and the staff, since these belong to the altar, is to usurp the powers of God Himself. For a



12.—THE MARK SYSTEM IN WESTERN EUROPE.

Key: Marks shown thus:

D.M. = Danish Mark. M.M. = Mark Meisen. M.A. = Mark Ancona. B.M. = Breton Mark. N. = Navarre. M.B. = Mark of the Billungs. C.M. = Carinthian Mark. D.S. = Duchy of Spoleto. I. de F. = Ile de France. M.L. = Mark Lausitz. I.M. = Istrian Mark. A. = Aragon.

[Note the position of the North Mark and the East Mark, the former guarding the routes of the Plain and of the Oder, and the latter guarding the Vienna and Moravian Gates.]

[Cf. Mercia in England and the later rise of the Palatine Earldoms, shown thus: , and the still later Marches of Wales and Scotland, shown thus: .]

priest to place his hands, sanctified by the body and blood of the Lord, in the blood-stained hands of a layman, as a pledge, is to dishonour his order and holy consecration."

The rivalry of Pope and Emperor was too intense for either to command the unquestioning obedience of the world. Men were generally content to regard them as equals, the one a World Priest, head of the Holy Roman Church, the guardian of men's souls; the other a World King, ruler of the Holy Roman Empire, and the protector of men's bodies.

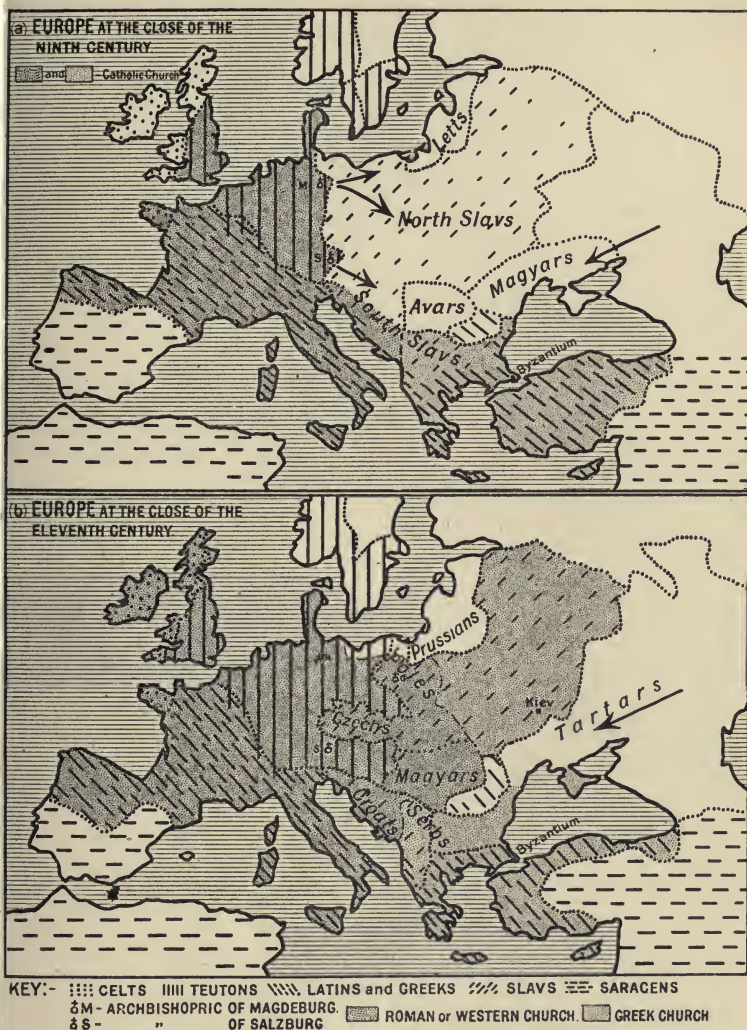
Throughout the Middle Ages the power of the Church was enormous, and its unity contrasted sharply with the political disunity of the states. Apart from the hierarchy of ecclesiastics from archbishops to parish priests, the various monastic orders* carried the Roman religion and influence into the remotest parts of Europe. The Crusades (twelfth and thirteenth centuries) indicated the power which the Church had over laymen from Emperor to peasant, a power which the Crusades themselves tended to increase. Firstly, they were carried out under the Pope's blessing; secondly, the Church became the guardian of the estates of those who had gone to the wars; and, thirdly, the three great orders of chivalry, the Knights Templar, the Knights of St. John, and the Teutonic Knights—half military, half ecclesiastic—were specially related to the Bishop of Rome.

It is interesting to note how vast hosts of the Crusaders followed the natural route of the Danube valley from the

* Benedictinism revived led to the formation of orders of monks.

A. *Monks*.—(a) Benedictines, tenth and eleventh centuries (Model House of Cluny founded A.D. 910); (b) Carthusians, eleventh and twelfth centuries (Model House of Chartreuse founded A.D. 1084); (c) Cistercians, twelfth and thirteenth centuries (Model House of Cîteaux founded A.D. 1098).

B. *Friars*.—(a) Franciscans, thirteenth and fourteenth centuries (founded by St. Francis of Assisi during A.D. 1209-1226); (b) Dominicans, thirteenth and fourteenth centuries (founded by St. Dominic of Spain in the year 1215).



13.—RACE AND RELIGION IN EARLY EUROPE.

N.B.—German colonisation eastward (a) along the Northern Plain; (b) along the Oder Valley; (c) along the Danube. Tongues of Slav land thus remained in north, centre, and south, occupied by Poles, Czechs, and Croats respectively. This colonising activity brought Western or Roman Christianity to the Magyars and the vanguard of the Slavs. The Slavs as a body, however, were Christianised on the Eastern model.]

Vienna Gate to Belgrade, thence up the Morava and down the Maritza to Constantinople. Across the Bosphorus, the difficult country of Asia Minor had to be faced, till finally Antioch and the old Syrian coast route was reached and a junction effected with the Norman and French forces, which generally made a sea passage, using the Norman kingdom of Sicily as a stepping-stone.

Effects of Crusades.

As military organisations, the Crusades were magnificent failures, but they had a profound effect upon both the thought and activities of Europe. The powerful forces which were slowly and gradually developing and which were to culminate in the Renaissance were stimulated by contact with the civilisation of the East. It is well known that much of the best Greek culture was taken up by Arab scholars and with additions passed back into European hands through the crusading movement.

The most direct and tangible result of the Crusades, however, was the revival and expansion of trade between East and West, and perhaps no body of men obtained more positive benefit from the Wars of the Cross than the burghers, the merchants of the many towns which rose to prominence during the period. A careful study of the map will show the important geographical foci of trade routes as Lombardy and Burgundy, Rhineland and Flanders, in general, and commercial cities as Venice and Genoa, Augsburg and Hamburg, in particular, and explain their importance as collecting and distributing centres.

The rather scanty records go to show that Europe was enriched by the importation of luxuries—spices, fruits, textile fabrics in silk and cotton, wine, dyestuffs, and glassware. The exports were chiefly such articles as the Knights in Syria needed for their support—weapons, horses, clothes, and, above all, grain. Furthermore, the commercial intercourse on this



14.—TRADE ROUTES OF CENTRAL EUROPE IN THE MIDDLE AGES.

scale could not be maintained without the use of money, and as the Crusades went on, we find the cities of Italy developing a class of bankers* and a system of coinage.

These great trade towns, singly or in leagues, formed for mutual protection or commercial expansion,† often became a factor in politics, playing by no means an unimportant part in the affairs of Europe.

RECAPITULATION

During the ninth century the empire of Charlemagne fell to pieces as a result of civil war and barbaric invasions. By the Treaty of Verdun (843) the empire was divided into three parts corresponding roughly with the modern kingdoms of France, Germany and Italy with the line of neutral states and debatable land from Flanders to Provence. This division took a more permanent form in the settlement of 887, when the realms passed from the Carolingians to powerful nobles.

The great result of the invasions was the growth of feudalism—the decline of central authority and the rise of local chieftains exercising almost absolute power within their own domains, which tended to become hereditary. The disintegrating force of feudalism was counteracted more or less by the growth of nationalism, particularly in England and France, the movement in Germany and Italy being complicated and retarded by the struggle between the Empire and Papacy. The power and influence of the Church in the Middle Ages was evidenced by the success of the Popes against the Emperors, the control of lands and people by the secular clergy, the rise and development of the monastic orders, and the Wars of the Cross.

The Crusades were magnificent failures, but they led to a revival of trade and the growth of towns and city states.

* Cf. Lombard Street, in or near which are the great banks of London.

† Cf. Lombard League, and later the Hanseatic League.

QUESTIONS

1. Illustrate by diagram the route of European invaders of the ninth century. Briefly indicate how these invasions gave rise to feudalism.
2. What were the commercial effects of the Crusades? What were the chief commodities of trade, by what routes were they carried, and from what centres were they distributed?
3. What were the geographical factors which gave rise to the importance of the following as trading centres in the Middle Ages : Genoa, Milan, Venice, Augsburg, Lyons, Bruges, Hamburg, Lübeck?

CHAPTER IV

TRANSITION

(PERIOD : *Thirteenth to Sixteenth Centuries.*)

CERTAIN epochs of history are characterised by social equilibrium, stable or unstable. All forms of political and social life, all expressions of art and literature, all forms of rule and religion develop harmoniously and constitute a unity. Occasionally, however, there are intervening periods when one may discern the old order—the outcome of centuries of growth and long tradition—conflicting with a new order shaping itself often under the inspiration and stimulus of some external influences. These are periods of transition, and provide the material of which revolutions—peaceful or violent—are made. Such a period of conflict is that now under review, and though the interaction of the old and the new in every aspect of life should never be lost sight of, it is convenient to confine this chapter to the political changes—the outcome of the past—in Europe, reserving for the next chapter the intellectual changes, the progress of arts and science which pass under the name Renascence.

The political history of Europe during these three centuries is too complicated to recount here in detail, and moreover is without any great effect on later European history. There are, however, certain outstanding features which should be carefully noted because of their bearing on later events.

I. In **Western Europe** the political tendency was towards stability and the establishment of national unity within



115.—EUROPE IN THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY (1360).

geographical boundaries. The characteristics were *cohesion* and *centralisation*.

II. In **Central Europe** the Empire, nominally united and centralised, slowly disintegrated under powerful influences—personal or geographical. Here there was *nominal centralisation*, but *no cohesion*.

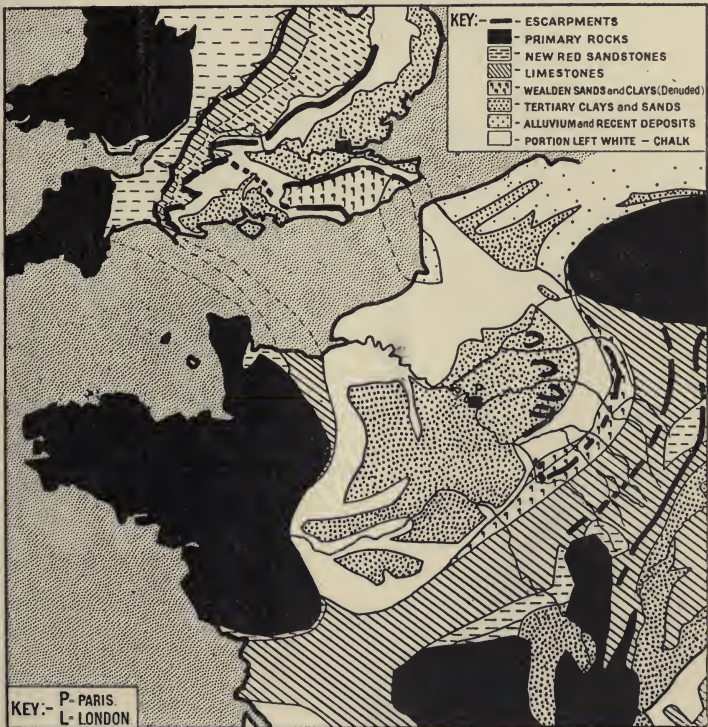
III. In **East Central Europe** a line of *racial kingdoms* comprising the Two Sicilies, Hungary, Poland, and Scandinavia, were threatened with extinction by the territorial expansion of certain Central European states and the conquests of various peoples moving in from the East.

IV. In **Eastern Europe** *Russians, Tartars, and Turks*—semi-nomadic or at least unsettled peoples—advanced westwards at the expense of the East Central states.

I. **Western Europe**—(a) ENGLAND.—We will examine each of these regions in some detail. In England by the time of the three Edwards (1272-1377) the various races—Celts, Teutons, Danes, and Normans—had blended into one nation, and London, situated within the Chalk basin at the focus of the natural roads of England, had definitely displaced the Roman Eboracum (York) and Saxon Winchester as capital of the country. National “consciousness” began to manifest itself in various ways; one, a series of wars which would have brought the outlying fringe of West France, Wales, Ireland, and Scotland within the political sphere of London.

The conquest of Wales (1282-1283) brought all South Britain under one control; the attempted conquest of Scotland (1290-1307) sought to bring about the unification of England and Scotland; while the campaign in France had for its object the possession of the agricultural plains from the Peak to the Pyrenees, and incidentally an all-English trade route to the Mediterranean via the Gate of Carcassonne. The ultimate defeat of England and her withdrawal from France after a hundred years of war encouraged the growth of a national spirit which tended to assume an insular character,

nationality and insularity being furthermore fostered by the attitude and actions of the Tudor sovereigns (1485-1603).* The struggle between Parliament and the Stuarts (1603-1688) with their dogmas of divine right and passive obedience, showed more than anything else the trend of English



16.—THE LONDON AND PARIS BASINS.

nationalism, the adoption of a policy which culminated in the Revolution of 1688 and the accession of a king who ruled by Act of Parliament.

* The break with Rome in Henry VIII.'s reign severed even the religious connection with the Continent.

(b) FRANCE.—In France, geographical, no less than political, factors tended to produce stability and unity round the Paris basin. From his hereditary home and stronghold—the Ile de France—the king struck outwards along the natural routes: north-east to Picardy along the Marne; by the Rhone valley to Provence and through the Gate of Poitou to Gascony, thereby converting his vague feudal overlordship into real sovereignty. The annexation in the west was the direct outcome of the Hundred Years' War against England. It enabled the sovereign to come as a saviour rather than as a conqueror, and to annex the fertile plains from Normandy to the Pyrenees without encountering seriously that local sentiment and jealousy which tended to separate Normandy and Brittany, Poitou and Gascony.*

The incorporation in the east of many parts of the original middle kingdom of Lotharingia advanced the frontier of France considerably beyond the geographical boundary of the watershed of the Cevennes and Argonne, towards the historical line of the Alps and the Rhine.†

Territorial acquisitions paved the way for the political policy of the great cardinal-statesmen, Richelieu (d. 1642) and Mazarin (d. 1661) and the sovereign-statesman Louis XIV. (1638-1715), who concentrated all power and authority in one strong central government—the King himself. The consequence was that Paris became *the* capital and ultimately displaced the capitals of the several local duchies. In this

* The national unification of France was more complete than that of the British Isles, where Irish, Scotch, and Welsh problems still exist, though for the completeness of her unity (without entirely obliterating local sentiment) France doubtless owes a great debt to the Revolution of 1789 and its immediate consequences.

† This steady advance remained unchecked until Germany in the nineteenth century formed a unity under the leadership of Prussia and by the campaign of 1870-1 wrested from France the provinces of Alsace and Lorraine. The victory of 1919 enabled France to undo the results of 1871 and to continue her march Rhinewards.

connection it is interesting to note the relative positions of London and Paris, the two cities on which the rising states of England and France were focussed. The one is situated within a chalk escarpment on the London basin, with its outlet, the lower Thames. The other occupies a similar position in the Paris basin, having its outlet, the lower Seine. Consequently England and France have looked towards each other across the English Channel through their London and Paris eyes, generally in an attitude of rivalry and hostility, occasionally in friendship and mutual assistance,

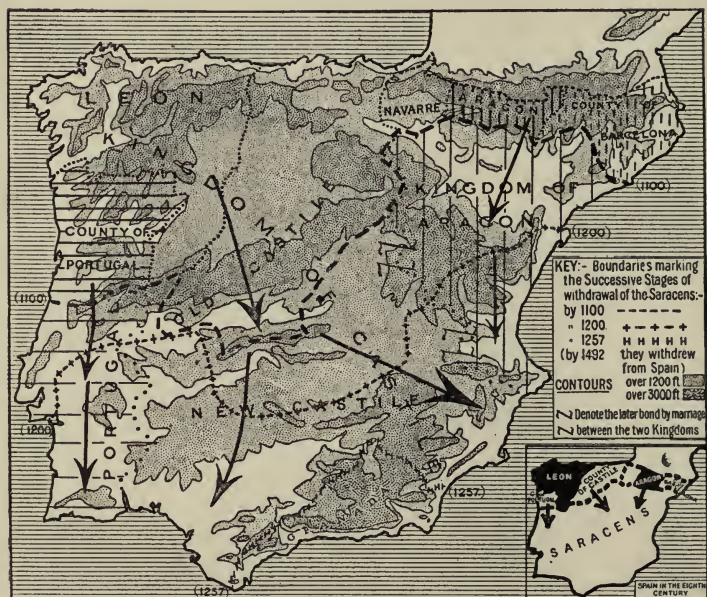
(c) SPAIN AND PORTUGAL.—At the time of Charlemagne, the Christian states of Spain were limited to the Spanish March and the kingdoms of Galicia and Asturias. The former was protected from the Saracens by the power of Charles, the latter by the physical configuration of the country.* From these two bases was waged for seven centuries a crusade against the "Infidel." Aragon and Catalonia became united by marriage (A.D. 1150) and spread down the Ebro valley into Valencia (A.D. 1238). The north-west became the kingdom of Leon, with its county of Castile protecting the south-eastern frontier and the county of Portugal the southern. These counties, like the marks of the Empire (*e.g.*, the north and east marks), conquered on their own account. The counts—afterwards kings—of Portugal advanced between the plateaus and the coast, capturing Lisbon in 1147 and reaching the present limits in 1262.

Castile, which annexed Leon by marriage (A.D. 1230), advanced south-eastwards over the plateaus, capturing first Old Castile, whose physical boundary is Sierra de Guadarrama, and then New Castile, between Sierra de Guadarrama and Sierra de Morena. An advance into Murcia

* The extreme north-west is not only mountainous, but has an exceedingly moist climate. For these reasons it had no attraction for the Saracen horsemen, accustomed to semi-desert conditions, and who preferred the open plains suitable alike for cavalry and wheat.

ensured for Castile the fertile valleys of Andalusia, still held by the Moors. Aragon, hemmed in by Castile, looked across the Mediterranean to Italy for further expansion. Portugal naturally turned towards the ocean and sought her conquests over the Atlantic.

The marriage of Isabella and Ferdinand in 1469 united



17 —THE POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT OF SPAIN.

Inset : THE SPANISH CRUSADE.

their respective kingdoms of Castile and Aragon, a union cemented by a combined action which succeeded in expelling the Moors from the Peninsula (1492). The work of unification, comparable with that which we have noticed in France and Britain, seemed completed when Philip of Spain ascended the throne of Portugal in 1580, though sixty years later the two countries again became separate.

It is an interesting comment on what has been stated, that to-day in Spain, though there are two races with two languages differing fundamentally from each other, these races are *not* Portuguese and Spanish, but Provençal (from the Spanish mark) and Castilian (from Asturia). Aragon and Castile, though politically united, have never merged, and Barcelona still stands aloof from Madrid. On the other hand, Castile and Portugal have much in common, and Madrid and Lisbon have often approached each other.

II. Central Europe.—In Central Europe the Empire still preserved an outward semblance of unity but in reality it was by no means united. Besides those states which we have seen were lost to France, the whole of the Empire south of the Alps repudiated the claims of the Emperor, and Italy became nothing more than a geographical expression for a number of petty independent governments, as the duchies of Savoy and Milan, the republics of Venice, Genoa, and Florence, the states of the Church, and the kingdom of Naples.

Other parts of the Empire gained a virtual independence, acknowledging but a nominal allegiance to the Emperor. Such were the confederation of a number of Alpine districts and towns—the beginning of modern Switzerland—and a group of trading centres in the north-west which were afterwards called the Netherlands, the basis of modern Belgium and Holland.* The same bid for unrestricted trade was made by the towns of the famous Hanseatic League,† which controlled the commerce of the North and Baltic Seas. Against this break-up may be placed a tendency on the part of certain rulers, particularly the electoral princes—the King of Bohemia, the Count Palatine of the Rhine, the Duke of Saxony, the Margrave of Brandenburg, and the Emperor,

* Recent German policy was to reincorporate these regions commercially or by “blood and iron,” and to establish a powerful German Empire, which, like the Holy Roman Empire, should be the first state in Europe.

† Bremen, Lübeck, Hamburg, Cologne, and many others.

who by this time was usually the hereditary Archduke of Austria—to build up large family possessions by making advantageous marriage alliances and handing on their estates undivided. Brandenburg and Austria especially became important on account of territorial expansion at the expense of their neighbours outside the Empire.

III. East Central Europe.—Between the anvil of Central Europe and the hammer of unsettled Slavs, Tartars, and Turks lay a number of kingdoms extending from the Mediterranean to the Arctic, which (to a greater or less degree) were breaking down under the blows from the east.

(a) **SOUTH ITALY.**—To the south, the Eastern Empire, which had remained a bulwark against the barbarians for centuries after the collapse of the Western Empire, was fast tottering to its fall. Encroachments had already been made upon Constantinople from north and south, and there only remained the fall of the city itself to complete the overthrow (1453). South Italy, too, became involved in the conflict between East and West, and shared the ruin of the states of East Central Europe. Always the buffer between the land powers to the north and the sea powers to the south, she now became the prey of the Ottomans from the East Mediterranean and the Aragonese from the west.

(b) **POLAND AND HUNGARY.**—The central group of kingdoms had this in common, that they had been converted to Christianity by missionaries from Germany* and had been for a considerable period dependent on the Empire—the advance guard of Christendom against heathendom. As independent kingdoms, they were characterised by mutual hostility rather than mutual support.

Poland, without well-defined frontiers to mark either her advance or retreat, at first followed a remarkable career of

* Poland, Bohemia, and the Slav states along the North-East Adriatic coasts are the only Slavonic areas converted to Roman Catholicism. The Slavs of Russia and of the Balkan Peninsula belong to Greek Orthodoxy.

expansion. For a time she built up a powerful kingdom which stretched from the Baltic to the Black Sea,* but ultimately succumbed before the advances of Imperial Germany, Austria, and Russia.

Hungary, on the other hand, had fairly well-defined geographical frontiers which enabled the Magyars to retain their nationalism, in spite of the loss of their political independence, when, during the sixteenth century, they passed under the direct rule of the Habsburgs.

(c) SCANDINAVIA.—The three maritime countries of Denmark, Sweden, and Norway, with racial, religious, and commercial affinities, and bound rather than severed by the sea, became united under one sovereign by the Union of Calmar (1397).† The policy of the united kingdoms was obviously to maintain the supremacy of the Baltic by holding lands on the southern shore, a policy continued by Sweden after the dissolution of the Union in 1523. Frequent wars, however, among the Scandinavian countries during the sixteenth and later centuries prevented a vigorous and constant "push" being maintained against the encroachments of Russia and Poland towards the Baltic.

IV. **Eastern Europe.**—The distinguishing feature of the peoples of Eastern Europe was that they were in an unsettled condition, ever pressing in towards Central Europe. When the Crescent displaced the Cross on the dome of St. Sophia, no barrier prevented the Turks from advancing into Hungary or round the Carpathians towards Galicia, and establishing a vast Ottoman Empire, which at its maximum extended almost to the gates of Vienna.

* Cracow was made the capital in 1312, though shortly afterwards Bohemia seized Silesia from Poland, thus making Cracow less central. The following were the chief Polish annexations: Galicia (1340), Lithuania (1386), West Prussia (1466), East Prussia (1525), and Livonia (1561).

† Cf. the Treaty of Malmo made by these three countries to safeguard their interests on the outbreak of the Great War, 1914.

RUSSIA.—The conversion of the Poles and Czechs to Christianity separated these two divisions of the Slavonic peoples from their barbarian brothers, whom for convenience we may call the Russians. Swedish settlements in the ninth century—Novgorod was founded by Ruric in 862—and the later conquests of the Teutonic knights shut off the Russian states from the Baltic. Poland pushed vigorously at them from the west, while Tartar hordes in the south not only cut off the Russians from the Black and Caspian Seas, but subjected them to tribute (1238-1462).

The effect of this pressure from three sides, forcing the Russians against the almost impenetrable forest of the north-east, had the effect of welding together the Slav (Russian) principalities under the leadership of Muscovy. By the fifteenth century, not only was the Tartar yoke broken, but even Novgorod "the Mighty" was defeated and annexed (1478). Thus Muscovy became to modern Russia what Wessex had been to England, the duchy of Paris to France, the kingdom of Castile to Spain, the east mark to Austria-Hungary, and the north mark to Prussia.

The conquests of Ivan III. (1462-1505) and Ivan IV. (1547-1584)* carried the frontier of Russia to the important line of the Volga. The Prince of Muscovy became "Autocrat of all the Russias," to which Ivan IV. added the Tartar title of Czar. At the opening of the seventeenth century, when the house of Romanov† ascended the throne, Russia had commenced her expansion outwards in the direction of the surrounding seas.

We have thus presented one of the most outstanding features in the développement of the political map of Europe—viz., (1) a threefold division of (a) Western, (b) Central, (c) Eastern Europe, with a decreasing cohesion and solidarity,

* Ivan III. took Iver, Yaroslavl and Viatka on the Volga and Rostov on the Sea of Azov. Ivan IV. took Kazan and Astrakhan.

† The reigning house of Romanov ended with the abdication of Nicholas II. and the Russian revolution, 1917.

from west to east, but increasing racial emphasis; (2) two "fracture lines" of small states, the western—*i.e.*, the Netherlands, Switzerland, etc.—largely economic and social in their basis; the eastern almost entirely racial in their chief characteristics.

RECAPITULATION

Europe from the thirteenth to the sixteenth centuries presented two phases: (1) the cosmopolitanism of religion and trade, (2) the nationalism and separatism of the several states. Western countries—Britain, France, and Spain—tended towards a national unity within a geographical boundary. In Central Europe the fringes of the Empire—the Netherlands, Switzerland, and Italy—broke away, the first two to form independent states, the latter to remain divided as before. Elsewhere within the Empire there was a tendency towards consolidation, separation, and recrystallisation round several centres, in particular the secular electoral states and Austria. This had the effect of preventing the formation of a unified state.

East Central Europe—Scandinavia, Poland, and Hungary—sandwiched between rising powers, suffered in consequence, showing an instability which contrasted with the stability in the West. In East and South-East Europe, Russia and Turkey (still in a state of flux) pressed steadily into Europe along the European plain and the valley of the Danube.

QUESTIONS

1. What geographical advantages and historical events made London and Paris the capitals of England and France respectively?
2. Trace the political development of Spain and Portugal, emphasising the geographical control. How do you account for the fact that the political division does not coincide with the racial and cultural division?
3. Trace and illustrate by a map the connection between the Tartar and Turkish conquests and the ocean discoveries of Spain and Portugal during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

CHAPTER V

THE RENASCENCE

(PERIOD : *Thirteenth to Sixteenth Centuries.*)

THE effect of the Crusades, directly or indirectly, on the civilisation of Europe was enormous. Hitherto the Church had been supreme; it claimed not only the spiritual but also the intellectual guidance of the world. "The clergy represented the sum of the activity and intelligence of the period. They not only filled the offices of instruction and of state by their monopoly of learning, but they took the van in industry and commerce by winning new soil for cultivation, by planting cities and erecting buildings." Such leadership might have served when North-West Europe was in tutelage and when barbarians were being taught the first and elementary principles of Christianity. Clerical lead, however, was totally inadequate in the new world arising from the renewed contact of East and West which the Crusades effected.

We saw in the first chapter how early peoples moved from Asia to the Mediterranean, there developing a Hellenic and later a Roman civilisation which spread to Northern Europe. Similarly a wave of civilisation passed thither as a result of the Crusades, from the Arabs, who had received much from the east, and after resting there awhile in cities like Florence and Venice was transmitted to the north-west.

Arab Civilisation.

During the five centuries following Muhammad's death (A.D. 632) the Arabs developed a civilisation, based partly on

the Greek and partly on the Persian, which far exceeded that of Europe viewed from the standpoint of science and industry. They had developed a sound and unified central government with a good system of taxation. Good roads linked together the several parts of the Empire, canals and aqueducts irrigated the infertile lands. They built large cities, some with 500,000 inhabitants, and adorned them with mosques and buildings whose domes and minarets glistened in the sun. Their universities, especially those of Bagdad, Cairo, and Cordova, were world famous, both for their magnificent libraries and their learning in theology, law, rhetoric, and philosophy. To the Arabs we owe the use of the decimal system and the invention of the pendulum, besides numerous developments in trigonometry, optics, astronomy, and other sciences. Their knowledge of medicine was considerable; they were acquainted with anæsthetics, and could perform some of the most difficult surgical operations. Arab scholars also discovered many new substances as alcohol, potassium, nitrate of silver, nitric and sulphuric acids.

Among the arts and crafts in which the Arabs excelled we may mention their work in gold, silver, copper, bronze, iron, and steel; the manufacture of textiles, glassware, and pottery; dyeing; leather dressing; the making of tinctures, essences, and syrups; the extraction of sugar from the cane and the making of wine. Their caravans and boats traded with the whole of the known world—with China and India, the East Indies and Africa, with Russia and the Baltic.

The Renaissance.

It was with this civilisation that Europe was put in contact by the Crusades, and the effect, as might be expected, was tremendous. The new world which opened to the barons, the new trade which passed to the burghers, helped to loosen the hold which hitherto the Church had on society. "The Crusades occasioned a tremendous increase of commerce and

industry, and therefore of municipal life. The burgher class laid the foundations of its wealth in this period and entered upon the schooling by which it was enabled to secure the future leadership of civilisation. By developing the cities, the Crusades planted the seeds of modern society."

There were innumerable expressions of this awakening of all classes and ranks of society—the chivalry of knighthood;* the epic and lyric poetry, not in the "frozen and corrupt Latin," but in the national tongue; the so-called Gothic architecture, in harmony with the style of which was the sculpture, the carving, and the painting which enrich many a thirteenth-century cathedral or church.

The home of the Renaissance is Italy, and from Italy it spread to Western Europe. There are geographical and historical reasons why it should have been so. Geographically Italy held a commanding position for the seaborne trade with Syria, and from Genoa or Venice could distribute goods to Western and Central Europe. Historically, the Roman civilisation, of which almost every city had a reminder in its ruins, gave a stimulus; feudalism had never taken deep root, nor barbarism entirely overrun the country. Consequently the cities which sprang to opulence by trade had not only the stimulus, but the means of gratifying their desire to express the "renaissance" in architecture and art and to become the patrons of poets and artists. Such were Florence and Pisa, Venice and, in a lesser degree, Rome.

"To this great epoch belong a number of changes of the first magnitude: the decline of the Empire and the Papacy and of the ideas and traditions with which they were connected; the growth and the hardening into shape of the French, Spanish, and English nations; the rise of national literatures and of the conception of national churches; the breaking up of feudalism and chivalry by the growing importance of industry; the overthrow of aristocratic and ecclesiastical predominance by the rise of the people to political

* Cf. Tennyson's "Idylls of the King."

influence; the growth of strong territorial monarchies based upon popular support, though in every country except England the monarchy kicked away its support as soon as it was no longer needed.

“ With these changes must be coupled the results of the great inventions and discoveries of the age; the employment of the compass and the astrolabe; the consequent development of maritime adventure which led to the finding of a new way to India and a new world across the Atlantic, and so to an enormous extension of knowledge and a complete alteration of the trade routes of the world; the discovery of gunpowder and the revolution it effected not only in the art of war, but also in the organisation of society, which in the Middle Ages was inextricably bound up with the military system; the invention of printing, followed by a vast extension and popularisation of literature and knowledge; and finally the great astronomical discovery of Copernicus, which overthrew the old belief in the stability and central position of the earth and dealt a fatal blow to the vast structure of superstition that had been erected upon that belief.”*

Thus the “ Renaissance ” manifested itself in all phases of human activities. On its intellectual side it meant a revival of classical studies and an introduction of Greek learning to the nations of the West—the Revival of Learning.† On its geographical and commercial side, it pushed back the horizon and brought new lands within the ken of European peoples. On its religious side, it resulted in the Reformation and Counter-Reformation.

Geographical Discoveries.

The blow which shattered the Eastern Empire—Constantinople fell in 1453—stimulated the forces which were already at work in the making of Modern Europe. The barrier which the Muhammadan conquests placed between the Mediterranean and the East only urged Christendom to greater

* Lodge, *The Close of the Middle Ages*, pp. 518-519.

† In England it led to the growth of a national literature which found its best expression in the Elizabethan writers.

efforts to avenge the insult and regain its trade—to seek “Christians and spices” in other directions. Spain and Portugal took the lead in fitting out expeditions to find new routes to the Indies, and the geographical discoveries thus made had a great effect on the political, intellectual, and social life of Europe. It is also interesting to note that as the “barbarians” of the north-west had wrested the military sceptre from Rome, so now the countries of the north-west wrested the commercial trident from the cities of the Mediterranean.

Let us glance at a few of the discoveries: Portuguese sailors, urged on by Prince Henry the Navigator, crept along the West African coasts until in 1482 Bartholomew Diaz rounded the Cape of Storms (Good Hope), preparing the way for Vasco da Gama, who, after exploring the East African coast, sailed under Arab pilots to India. Meanwhile Columbus, in the pay of Ferdinand and Isabella, sailed westwards to the West Indies and Central America; and Magellan, by rounding Cape Horn, was able to add Chile to the growing possessions of Spain. The Cabots discovered Newfoundland and North America, lands which in later generations were to prove of greater value than the gold and silver mines of Mexico and Peru. English sailors, such as Frobisher and Chancellor, proved the impracticability of the north-west and north-east passages to China, though the discovery of the White Sea opened up trade with Russia.

All Western Europe wished to join in the great trade ventures. Not only the kingdoms of Spain, France, and England, but the Netherlands also and the towns of the Hanseatic League, looked across the seas to increase their wealth. The ultimate success of England was due to the fact that she adopted a policy of “splendid isolation,” while France and Spain could not forego intriguing in the disunited states of Germany and Italy, thereby weakening themselves and indirectly crippling both the Netherlands and the Hansa.

The Reformation.

It was inevitable that the new knowledge arising from the discovery of three continents, no less than the purely intellectual work of the scholars, should break the shackles which had curbed and cramped the minds of men. It is not surprising that many mediæval ideals suffered criticism and many dogmas and practices of the Church were called in question. Though Western Europe still acknowledged the supremacy of Rome and admitted the dignity of the Emperor, the conception of a world-priest and a world-king with command over the souls and bodies of men was losing ground.

In Bohemia, where, as later in Germany, the religious question was complicated by a national and political one, John Huss had raised his voice against the sale of indulgences.

Men like Savonarola (1452-98) in Italy condemned the immoralities and abuses of Church and laity; scholars like Erasmus (1466-1536), through criticism and writing, sought "to remedy the error which makes religion depend on ceremonies and on observance of bodily acts, while neglecting true piety."

Denunciation and entreaty alike failed to reform the Church, a failure which led finally to a breach with Rome and the dismemberment of Christendom in a manner similar to the political disintegration already noted. The first sign of the rift which was to divide Europe into two hostile camps was the challenge to the world by Martin Luther when he nailed his famous ninety-five theses on the church door of Wittenberg (1517). From an attack on Church practices he passed to an attack on doctrine, thereby making reconciliation impossible. In Germany and elsewhere Luther found many supporters among both princes and peasants, many of his followers being desirous of carrying reform considerably further than their leader.

No definite line divided the two religious parties, but it is

interesting to note that ultimately Protestantism, with its belief in individual freedom of action and thought, established itself round the Baltic and North Seas in a manner comparable with the almost-established empire of the freedom-loving Vikings and Danes. Catholicism, on the other hand, with its elaborate central organisation and suppression of individualism, remained firm in the lands where Imperialism had established a similar political rule. In a broad sense, the religious question reproduced the dual division of Europe—the lands of the North and Baltic Seas and the lands of the Mediterranean.

The **Peace of Augsburg** (1555) effected a compromise between Lutherans and Catholics, but left, as was afterwards proved, an open problem—the secularisation of ecclesiastical lands—which as time went on became more acute, ultimately leading to open war.

During the latter part of the sixteenth century, Protestantism steadily lost ground, partly because of its innate weakness and partly because of the growing strength of Catholicism. Protestantism was a destructive rather than a constructive force, and when the evils which it attacked had been removed, it failed in itself to satisfy the new spirit which the Renaissance had called forth. It was, indeed, divided against itself, and between Lutheranism and Calvinism little sympathy existed.

The Counter-Reformation.

What Protestantism failed to accomplish was carried out by the Catholic Church through the efforts of the famous Society of Jesus. The Jesuits were specially trained to combat heresy, and immediately set to work to recover the lost ground of the Church. Their schools carried practically free education throughout the states of Europe, and the Jesuits themselves became the confessors of kings and the intriguers of states. Thus the Counter-Reformation—the

removal of the most glaring abuses and the enlightened and progressive policy of the adherents of the Church—fitted the Roman Church for that titanic struggle between itself and Protestantism, a struggle between the old order and the new in which the sword was to be the arbiter.

RECAPITULATION

The whole period from the thirteenth to the sixteenth centuries was one of transition, a “Renaissance” which manifested itself not only in politics but in learning, in commerce, and in religion. The Revival of Learning spread from Greece to Italy and from Italy to Western Europe. The discovery of new routes to India and of a new world across the Atlantic resulted from the maritime adventures and trading instinct. Finally, the “Renaissance” and a desire to reform the abuses of the Church led to the Reformation, which in its breach with Rome was marked by Luther’s protest at Wittenburg in 1517.

The Reformation called forth a Counter-Reformation, mainly through the efforts of the Jesuits, thereby preparing for the titanic struggle between Protestantism and Catholicism, between mediævalism and modernism.

QUESTIONS

1. Show the broad connection between the Crusades, the Renaissance, and the Reformation.
2. What contributed towards the possibility of *ocean* voyages by the close of the fifteenth century? Explain how far the routes of discovery were determined by geographical considerations.

CHAPTER VI

THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR—AND AFTER

(PERIOD : *Seventeenth Century.*)

FOR seven centuries after the *political* unity of Western Europe under Charlemagne had broken down, the Church maintained an intellectual and religious unity which militated against the political disunity outlined in the previous chapter. Now that the Church, too, was rent asunder by the Reformation, it is instructive to note how the new political and religious units gradually adapted themselves to each other.

The tendency was for the State to adopt one religion—Catholicism or some form of Protestantism—as a “national” Church. Thereby the separateness of the several states became more accentuated, the stability, unity, and solidarity of the countries of the West contrasting strangely with the instability, disunity, and weakness of the Empire and its border states to the East.

Western Europe—(a) UNITED KINGDOM.—Scotland accepted Presbyterianism (Calvinism) as its “national” religion, and England, after hesitating between Presbyterianism and “Anglicanism,” finally adopted the latter. This duality of religion was recognised in the political union of England and Scotland (1707), while it is a striking comment that the political and religious estrangement of Ireland has been a constant hindrance to the solidarity and unity of the United Kingdom.

(b) FRANCE.—In France, the religious question almost destroyed the political unity before it had become a definite

policy. The area south of the Gate of Poitou embraced Protestantism, and from their military strongholds of La Rochelle, Montauban, and Nismes, the Huguenots sought to build up a number of Protestant states more or less independent of the Catholic north. Fortunately, the accession of Henry IV. (1589-1610) and the issue of the Edict of Nantes (1598), granting religious toleration, prevented an entire disruption. Later, the work of Richelieu in crushing entirely the political activities of the Huguenots saved France for Catholicism, which in a measure became the "national" Church, at least until recent years.

(c) SPAIN.—In Spain, the activities of the Jesuits and the tortures of the Inquisition stamped out Protestantism before it had time to take root, leaving the Catholic Church stronger and more powerful than before. Thus, while in France the Church became the handmaid of the State, in Spain the State became the handmaid of the Church.

Central Europe.—In Central Europe, the political disintegration was carried still further by the religious upheavals. By the Peace of Augsburg every secular prince or imperial city was allowed to decide which of the two religions should be adopted. The Empire thus became a patchwork of religions determined by princes and not by peoples.

It is not surprising, therefore, that the storm-centre round which the inevitable struggle between the old order and the new came to be waged should be the Empire. Nor is it surprising that of the three stable western kingdoms, Spain should throw her weight on the side of Catholicism, that Great Britain on the northern extreme should support Protestantism,* and that France should adopt a waiting attitude, ready to take advantage of any situation which might arise.

* British enthusiasm was checked by Stuart Kings who had leanings towards Catholicism, and one of whom—James I.—sought an alliance with Spain.

The immediate cause of hostilities was a disputed succession to the throne of Bohemia. The nobles repudiated the succession of the Catholic Ferdinand, heir to the Austrian territories, in favour of Frederick, Elector of the Palatinate and son-in-law of James I. of England. It was obvious from the first that more than the mere kingship of Bohemia was involved in the dispute, and men began to realise that at last Protestantism and Catholicism were going to put their claims to the arbitrament of war.

The Thirty Years' War, 1618-1648.

For a time the difficulties of the House of Habsburg and the reluctance of other states to interfere gave promise of success to the Bohemian revolution. The disturbance, however, soon spread beyond the limits of Bohemia, for the insurrection let loose all the religious and political forces which had been steadily accumulating since Luther raised his protest against indulgences.

The Catholic states of the south-west of the Empire, together with Italy and Spain, ranged themselves against the Protestant north, supported by Denmark and Sweden. England, restrained by her sovereign, maintained her policy of isolation, while France watched with glee the discomfiture of her rival, Austria.

The Thirty Years' War is of special interest both to the military geographer and to the historian. For the first time the great military roads and theatres of war in Central Europe come into prominence, while the many problems which the war left unsolved have involved all the countries of Europe in wars of the most terrible character from that time to our own.

From 1619 to 1630, the Imperial troops under Tilly and Wallenstein were triumphant and drove the Danes, who had marched to the aid of the Protestants, from the mainland into the islands. The year 1630, however, was a turning-point, for

in that year the Emperor was compelled to dismiss Wallenstein because of his harsh treatment of friend and foe, while Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden landed in Pomerania to lead



(Shaded portions represent land above 500 metres in height.)

18.—CENTRAL EUROPE TO ILLUSTRATE THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR AND THE TREATY OF WESTPHALIA.

the Protestants. Gustavus commenced his march along the great military road which runs from Danzig to Mainz

through Frankfort, Torgau, Leipzig, Erfurt, and Frankfurt-on-the-Main. The Saxony "triangle" was the strategic centre of the route, and Gustavus hastened to effect a junction with the troops under the Elector of Saxony before he could be intercepted by Tilly, who was marching from the north-west towards Magdeburg. Both armies manœuvred to gain the "triangle," but at Leipzig, Tilly was defeated and the Protestants were able to march to Mainz and winter there. The policy of Gustavus was now to strike directly at Vienna, and following the second great military road along the Main, he defeated Tilly at Nürnberg and gained command of the strategic centre of the Bavarian uplands. The death of Tilly shortly afterwards compelled the Emperor to reinstate Wallenstein. That General marched north to gain a commanding position on the Saale, compelling the Swedes to fall back through the Thuringian Gate on the Saxony triangle. At Lützen, near Leipzig (1632), Wallenstein was defeated, but the gain of the victors was outweighed by the loss of their brilliant commander.

The formation of a league between Franconia, Swabia, and the Rhine States, following the death of Gustavus, drew the war back again to Bavaria. At first the Protestants were victorious and succeeded in taking Regensburg, but shortly afterwards it was recaptured and the forces of the League were defeated at Nördlingen. The withdrawal of Saxony from the League seemed the deathblow to Protestantism, when from political motives France interfered. The defeat of the Saxons at Chemnitz (1639) and the Imperialists at Leipzig (1642) virtually ended the war.

By the **Treaty of Westphalia** (1648) the Thirty Years' War came to an end. Never before had war wrought such devastation and destruction in Europe as this which had been waged in the name of religion. In 1618 the population of Germany was thirty millions, but by 1648 it had fallen to twelve millions, Berlin itself being inhabited by only two to

three hundred wretchedly clad persons. The Hanseatic League, too, was virtually broken; the main lines of commerce were destroyed, some trades and industries being swept out of existence. From the general wreck France was the only great power which profited, although throughout the greater part of the struggle she had been merely a spectator.

Unsolved Problems.

The Treaty of Westphalia not only serves as a landmark between mediæval and modern Europe, but it also created problems which have plunged Europe into war from that time to this. "The great settlements of European affairs which have taken place since the Thirty Years' War, at Utrecht, at Paris, at Vienna, and at Berlin, have been but the hatching of the fully developed chicks from the eggs laid in Westphalia in 1648." Later events have formed a striking comment on the chief terms of the treaty.

1. Independence of Switzerland and the Netherlands.—

The recognition by the Treaty of Westphalia of the independence of Switzerland and the Netherlands (Holland) created two new countries in Europe at the expense of the Empire. It was imagined that these states would help to maintain the peace of Europe by keeping France and the Empire (Germany) apart. Napoleon, however, seized them as gateways to the east, and William II. threatened Holland and Switzerland (1914), and actually violated Belgium in his invasion of France. *Indeed, it was the avowed object of Germany to incorporate, either commercially or politically, the lands which once formed part of the Holy Roman Empire, thereby presenting a constant menace to the peace of Europe.*

2. **The Empire.**—The granting of sovereign rights to all the petty princes of the Empire—the right to coin money, to make war, to organise armies, and to send representatives to other courts—completed the break-up of the Empire and made *Germany a cockpit of Europe until its unification under Prussia in 1871.*

3. **Prussia** (Brandenburg).—The acquisition by Prussia of Eastern Pomerania, Ravensburg, Mark, and Cleves, placed her definitely at the head of the Protestant states of the north in opposition to the Catholic states of the south, which looked to Austria. Thus can be detected the beginnings of the *struggle for supremacy between Austria and Prussia, which was only terminated by the Seven Weeks' War, 1866, and the humiliation of Austria at Sadowa.*

4. **Sweden**.—Sweden received West Pomerania and the bishoprics of Bremen and Verden, thus obtaining a strong strategic position on the Baltic hostile to Prussia. This inevitably led to *war between Sweden and Prussia for the mastery of the Baltic Sea*, and incidentally brought Prussia into conflict with Russia when, to round off her acquisitions, she sought to unite Prussia and Brandenburg by the annexation of Poland.

5. **France**.—In the west, France carried her frontier nearer the Rhine by obtaining Alsace (except Strassburg) and the bishoprics of Metz, Toul, and Verdun, controlling the Lorraine Gate. Though as yet she did not come into conflict with Prussia, yet the expansion of the one westwards and of the other eastwards led later to *repeated wars between Prussia and France (1793, 1870, 1914).*

The Emperor, shorn of all real authority within the Empire, turned his attention more and more to his hereditary possessions and sought expansion towards the south and south-east, developing more and more as a Germanic policy in the wake of the retreating Turk and resulting *during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries in almost continuous war in Italy and the Balkan Peninsula.*

France.

Of all the problems thus created by the Treaty of Westphalia and aggravated by later events, few, if any, have found a permanent solution. The immediate result, however, as we

have stated, was the ascendancy the war had given to France, and which her statesmen were not slow to utilise. Richelieu, on becoming chief minister in 1622, devoted his life to three objects: (i.) the complete unification of the French nation, (ii.) the concentration of all power in the hands of the sovereign, and (iii.) the acquisition of natural frontiers—viz., the Rhine and the Pyrenees.

The great cardinal-statesman himself practically accomplished the first and the second, while his disciple and successor, Mazarin, did much towards attaining the third. We have already noticed how he obtained Alsace in 1648. By the Treaty of the Pyrenees (1659) he received from Spain the two provinces of Artois and Roussillon, thereby establishing for the first time in history the Pyrenees as the boundary between France and Spain.

“On the south, on the south-east and on the east, France was now possessed of a frontier not merely defensible, but equally available for offence and defence. Through the passes of the Pyrenees, the Alps, and the Vosges, her armies could pour at a moment’s notice into the valleys of the Ebro, the Po, and the Rhine. Only to the north-east was the frontier still unmarked by natural boundaries.”

It was the special aim of Louis XIV. (1643-1715) to complete the work thus begun, by overrunning Belgium and threatening the independence of Holland in order that the historic line of the Rhine might be his frontier.

“Le Grand Monarque,” however, had greater ambitions than this. He aimed at nothing less than wresting the Imperial dignity from the Habsburgs of Austria and the trade of the New World from the Habsburgs of Spain. The Thirty Years’ War had left both Austria and Spain considerably weakened in power and prestige, while the wise statesmanship of Richelieu and Mazarin had raised France to the first position in Europe. It was with every prospect of success

that Louis prepared to fight, "for the shadow of Empire and the substance of sea-power, for an old title and a new trident." Brandenburg (Prussia), however, as we have seen, was likely to challenge him for the title, and England for the trident. Thus it was necessary for France to wage "two wars at once for two distinct objects," and as a result she ultimately lost both.

To all outward appearance, France seemed capable of accomplishing the two objects. Louis was himself a capable diplomat and politician, and commanded the services of a number of statesmen who have rarely been equalled in their several departments. His minister, Colbert, did for domestic what Richelieu had done for foreign affairs, and placed the financial arrangements on a sound basis. So firmly was all France in the grasp of Louis that he is said to have exclaimed, "*L'Etat! c'est moi*" (The State! I am the State). His long reign of seventy-two years, extending from the last years of our Charles I. to the opening of the reign of George I., is one long period of wars waged for the purpose of extending the territory and influence of France and carrying her eastern frontier to the Rhine.

Wars of Louis.

The War of Devolution (1667-1668) arose from the opposition of Holland, Sweden, and England to Louis' claim on the Spanish Netherlands on behalf of his wife, the eldest daughter of the late King of Spain, Philip IV. As a result of the war, the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle (1668) extended the frontier of France to the Lille-Tournai-Charleroi line of fortresses.

It was obvious to Louis that the Dutch were the obstacle in his path, and he spent four years in intriguing with England* and Sweden to desert their ally. The war with Holland lasted seven years (1672-1679), and by the Treaty of Nimeguen France regained Burgundy and Lorraine, but lost Charleroi

* Secret Treaty of Dover, 1670.

and certain other towns. The next five years were spent in legal trickery to obtain possession of small territories along the Rhine, until in 1684 Spain, Sweden, the Emperor, certain German princes and the United Provinces, united in the League of Augsburg to oppose his further advance. The withdrawal of French troops from the Dutch frontier to attack the Palatinate had one far-reaching result—the union under the same sovereign of England and Holland and the overthrow of Louis by Marlborough. Once out of danger, the Dutch gave permission to their Stadtholder, William of Orange, to accept the invitation of the English to assist them against James II. William's landing at Torbay and his subsequent coronation brought England within that union of Protestant powers who actively opposed Louis.

The mistake which Louis made by advancing into the Palatinate was retrieved by his terrible successes there. The whole district was burned and devastated, and he then turned savagely against England and the Dutch. The English navy was defeated off Beachy Head, and Mons was captured the following year. The English victory off La Hogue (1692) restored to England the supremacy of the Channel, but in Holland all went against William. Namur was taken, and at Steinkirk and Neerwinden he was defeated. By 1695 affairs began to turn in his favour, but both he and Louis were glad to come to an agreement in view of a more important struggle which seemed imminent. In 1697 terms of peace were signed at Ryswick.

War of Spanish Succession.

What Louis had failed to obtain by conquest there was now a prospect of obtaining, and much besides, by diplomacy. Charles II. of Spain had no child, and the question of the Spanish succession was uppermost in Europe. There were three claimants: Louis XIV., the Emperor, and the Elector of Bavaria. William III. worked hard to bring the parties to

agree to certain partition treaties which would prevent one nation becoming overpoweringly great. But partition treaties and diplomacy were thrown to the winds when it was made known, on the death of Charles, that he had left the whole of his territories to Philip of Anjou, a younger son of the Dauphin. Louis was delighted with what fortune had given him. On the grounds of guarding the Spanish Netherlands for his grandson, French troops poured into the frontier towns. Europe was astounded at his audacity, and England, Holland, and Austria prepared to resist him.

The war broke out in the Netherlands, Bavaria—the highway between France and Austria—and Spain, but the greatest interest centred in the campaigns of Marlborough, who on the death of William III. (1702) had succeeded to the command of the Allies. The year 1704 is marked by the victory of Marlborough over French and Bavarians at Blenheim and the capture of Gibraltar by Admiral Rooke. Marlborough returned to the Netherlands, but two years elapsed before he was able to bring about a decisive battle. In 1706 the French were defeated at Ramillies, and again in 1708 at Oudenarde. Louis was now willing to negotiate terms of peace, but to those which Marlborough proposed he would not agree. France rallied to him once more, and although she was defeated at Malplaquet, the Allies lost many of their best regiments. From this date the war dragged wearily on, the balance of success being on the side of the Allies.

Treaty of Utrecht.

In 1713 the Peace of Utrecht was signed, and for a time peace was restored to Europe on the following terms:

1. Philip V. remained King of Spain and the Indies, but the crowns of France and Spain were never to be united.
2. Naples, the Milanese, Sardinia, and the Spanish Netherlands were given to the Emperor, the Dutch having the right to garrison Ypres, Ghent, Tournai, Mons, Charleroi, and Namur.

3. France retained Alsace, including Strassburg, but she gave up certain fortresses east of the Rhine.

4. England received Gibraltar, Minorca, Newfoundland (subject to certain fishing rights), Hudson Bay, and Acadia, together with certain trading rights in Spanish America.

5. The kingdom of Prussia was recognised and it received upper Guelderland.

6. Sicily and part of the Milanese were given to the Duke of Savoy.*

The long reign of Louis XIV. is the link between the treaties of Westphalia and Utrecht. Out of the former his ambitions grew, the latter saw them checked. Modern Europe had taught her lesson—to be repeated in the nineteenth and again in the twentieth century—that she will not tolerate a despot who seeks territorial aggrandisement in Europe in order to revive “an old title,” and colonial expansion overseas to obtain “a new trident.”

RECAPITULATION

The break-up of Western Christendom consequent on the Reformation led to the establishment of “national” churches which accentuated the “national” states.

The dispute over the succession to the throne of Bohemia developed into a European war in which the states ranged themselves on the side of Protestantism or Catholicism, thereby giving the Thirty Years’ War a religious as well as a political aspect. The Peace of Westphalia created, or left unsolved, many problems which have involved Europe in wars since that time. The terms of the treaty were: Switzerland and the Netherlands, independence recognised. States of the Empire, sovereign rights guaranteed. Prussia (Brandenburg) received East Pomerania, Ravensburg, Mark, and Cleves. Sweden obtained West Pomerania, Bremen,

* In 1720 Sicily was exchanged for Sardinia, and it is interesting to note that the two Kings first recognised at the Treaty of Utrecht were in the nineteenth century the centres for the unification of Germany and Italy respectively.

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and Verdun. France acquired Alsace (except Strassburg), Metz, Toul, and Verdun.

The treaty marked a stage in the ascendancy of France. Throughout the long reign of Louis XIV. France waged two wars at once for two distinct objects. On land she sought expansion towards the Rhine and supremacy in Europe ; on the sea she sought to establish a vast colonial empire.

The war of the Spanish Succession was the outcome of these ambitions, but the Treaty of Utrecht, while bestowing the greater part of the Spanish dominions on the House of Bourbon, increased considerably the colonial and maritime power of Britain.

QUESTIONS

1. Why did France intervene in the Thirty Years' War? What advance was made in her Rhine policy by the Peace of Westphalia? Show the strategic importance of her acquisitions for future expansion.

2. Give the chief terms of the Treaty of Westphalia and point out how it gave rise to problems which resulted in future wars.

CHAPTER VII

EUROPE AND THE SECOND HUNDRED YEARS' WAR

(PERIOD : 1713-1789.)

England and the Treaty of Utrecht.

The Treaty of Utrecht, which concluded the War of the Spanish Succession, is of special interest in English history because of the new relationship of England with the politics of Europe and the development of the British Empire, which in a measure may be said to date from this time. The geographical position of Britain separated but did not isolate her from the Continent, though from the days of the Plantagenets and Lancastrians she had had but little contact with the fortunes of Europe.

The Revolution of 1688 and the consequent accession of William of Orange to the throne of England had resulted in this country joining the Great Alliance against France. But the Treaty of Utrecht left her the chief opponent of the ambitions of the French and Spanish branches of the House of Bourbon.

“ Not only did the Revolution set England irrevocably among the powers of Europe, but it assigned her a special rôle. The result of the alliance and the war had been to establish what was called a balance of power between the great European states ; a balance which rested indeed not so much on any natural equilibrium of forces as on a compromise wrung from warring nations by the exhaustion of a great struggle ; but which, once recognised and established, could be adapted and readjusted, it was hoped, to the varying political conditions of the time. Of this balance of power,

as recognised and defined in the Treaty of Utrecht and its successors, England became the special guardian.

"The stubborn policy of the Georgian statesmen has left its mark on our policy ever since. In struggling for peace and the sanctity of treaties, even though the struggle was one of selfish interest, England took a ply which she has never wholly lost. War-like and imperious as is her national temper, she has never been able to free herself from a sense that her business in the world is to seek peace alike for herself and for the nations about her, and that the best security for peace lies in her recognition, amidst whatever difficulties and seductions, of the force of international engagements and the sanctity of treaties."*

The Expansion of Britain.†

But if Britain acted and has acted the rôle of a more or less disinterested guardian of the peace of Europe, she claimed in the great world across the oceans the free play of all those forces due to her geographical position and the adventurous and enterprising spirit of her subjects.‡ In India the East India Company had established trading stations at Surat (transferred later to Bombay), Madras, and Calcutta, stations from which British influence could work along natural routes and finally envelop the whole of India. In North America, Britain laid claim to the lands of North America discovered by Cabot—Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, and Hudson Bay§—and to the numerous colonies from Maine to Carolina founded partly by settlers—the New England States—and partly by grants from the Crown to the landowning classes of England. In the West Indies and Central America,

* Green's *Short History of the English People*.

† For a fuller treatment see companion volume, *The Making of the British Empire*.

‡ Viz., situate on the continental shelf between N.W. Europe and the N. Atlantic, with numerous channel entries, up which the tide travels, converting most estuaries into harbours, and giving double tides or prolonged high water at many ports.

§ A claim not recognised till the Treaty of Utrecht.

England seized the small islands which formed the gateways to the Gulf of Mexico and the Caribbean Sea—bases from which to operate against both France and Spain in the New World.

For reasons similar to our own, French traders had established themselves in India as rivals to the British; French colonials occupied the St. Lawrence basin, passing thence to the Laurentian Lakes and the Mississippi and were already beginning to work up the Ohio River towards the passes of the Appalachians, thereby confining the English to the coastal plain. This hostility of French and English traders in India and of French and British settlers in America gave to the European wars of the eighteenth-century a distinctive character in so far as they affected Britain, France, and Spain.

Second Hundred Years' War.

The one common feature of all the wars from the time of Marlborough to that of Napoleon was that Britain and France invariably ranged themselves on opposing sides, their theatre of war being generally the high seas or their overseas possessions. This common feature enables us to group the eighteenth-century wars together, *and in so far as they affected Britain and France* we may call them the Second Hundred Years' War. For this reason, also, the War of the Spanish Succession, though we have given it as the last of the wars of aggression of Louis XIV., must also be regarded as the first of those trade and colonial wars which disturbed the peace of the world for over a century.

The European aspect of the War of the Spanish Succession is shown in the remarkable territorial distributions which it made; the world or commercial aspect in those items that affected this country—viz., the cession by Spain of Gibraltar, the key to the trade basin of the Mediterranean; the Assiento, or Agreement, which granted to England valuable trade privileges with Spanish America; and the recognition by

France of our claims to Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, and Hudson Bay territories.

The years immediately following Utrecht revealed still further the double rôle being played by Britain. She opposed the ambitious schemes of Philip of Spain and his minister, Cardinal Alberoni, to reunite the lost Spanish possessions, and, under certain eventualities, to unite the thrones of Spain and France. Furthermore, a British fleet all but destroyed the Spanish fleet in the Straits of Messina, preventing Spanish predominance in Italy which would have checkmated that hold on Mediterranean trade made possible by the recent capture of Gibraltar.

A quarrel between Hanover and Sweden over the acquisition of Bremen and Verden* (1719) resulted in the appearance of a British fleet in the Baltic to overawe Sweden and safeguard our trade in those waters.

A more serious danger to peace, however, was the determination of Spain, backed by France (with whom she made the Family Compact, 1733), to limit British trade in the West Indies strictly to the terms of the *Assiento*—viz., to the importation of negroes only and the despatch annually of only one ship.

The War of Jenkins's Ear.

A wholesale system of smuggling, which Spanish officials as well as British merchants found profitable, had nullified the agreement. Consequently, the restrictions which the Spanish Government now introduced led to friction between the British and the Spanish. A bitter outcry at the treatment our sailors were receiving led Walpole, the Prime Minister of England, reluctantly to declare war on Spain (1739).

* Bremen and Verden in the hands of Hanover offered advantages to British merchants who had considerable trade with Germany. Strictly, this quarrel was fomented by Spain to raise difficulties for England.

The war of Jenkins's Ear, as it has been called, revealed the nature of the Family Compact. On the capture of Porto Bello by Admiral Vernon, France declared she would not allow a British settlement on the mainland of South America and immediately despatched two squadrons to the West Indies.

At this juncture, the death of the Emperor, Charles VI., led to events which widened the trade war between Britain and the Bourbons of France and Spain into a conflict involving practically all the States of Europe. It is therefore advisable at this stage to take a survey of political Europe as it stood in 1740, on lines similar to those taken in Chapter IV.

I.—The West.

In the West, the policy of centralisation had not only been continued, but amplified and extended. England, Scotland, and Ireland passed as a united kingdom under the House of Hanover, and the absence of any great political problems at home gave opportunity for commercial enterprise overseas in both East and West.

The political unity of France was by this time assured, and the wars of Louis XIV. had carried the eastern frontier considerably nearer the Rhine, giving to France control of the Burgundy and Lorraine Gates and important fortresses on the open route of the north-east.

In Spain, the loss of nearly all her European possessions resulted in a concentration of sovereign power within the peninsula itself, while the union of the French and Spanish branches of the House of Bourbon by the Family Compact effected a combination of sea and land power which was apparently irresistible. Portugal, now again entirely independent of Spain, continued to turn her attention overseas to

her colonies and trade rather than to political affairs in Europe.

II.—Central Europe.

Within the Empire, great changes had been wrought since our last survey, changes which resulted in such a diminution of territory and prestige to the Emperor that, in the words of Voltaire, the "Empire" was now neither *Holy* nor *Roman* nor *Empire*. In the east and south the fringes had been broken away. We have already noted how the Peace of Westphalia recognised the independence of the Netherlands and Switzerland, giving to them the nature of "buffer" states. Between these two countries France had made extensive conquests west of the Rhine, while the barrier of the Alps had at last asserted itself, and North Italy, so long an unwilling appanage of Germany, became entirely and altogether separated. It did not, however, coalesce into a republic, as was the case of the Netherlands and Switzerland, though the beginnings of unity were discernible in the gradual extension of the possessions of the King of Sardinia.*

The process of disintegration in the east and south-east of the Empire was due largely to the growth of Prussia and Austria, who added to their possessions within and especially without the Empire, and naturally assumed a European status above that of mere princes of the Empire.

III.—East Central Europe.

In East Central Europe, the Scandinavian kingdoms had assumed the dual division of Denmark-Norway and Sweden. The latter, in spite of the efforts of Gustavus Adolphus (1611-1632) and Charles XII. (1697-1718) to retain their possessions and conquer new territories, had gradually with-

* The Duke of Savoy exchanged Sicily for Sardinia (1720), taking the title of "King." His possessions, therefore, consisted of Sardinia, Savoy, and Piedmont.



19.—EUROPE IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY (1740).

drawn from the southern shores of the Baltic before the encroachments of Prussia and Russia.*

Of the east central group of kingdoms mentioned in Chapter IV., **Hungary** still continued under the rule of the Habsburgs, being freed by A.D. 1740 from the yoke of the Turk eastwards to the Carpathians and southwards to the Transylvanian Alps. **Poland**, though still an independent kingdom, was already hastening towards the tragedy which was to obliterate her for many years from the map of Europe.

Three main causes contributed to Poland's downfall. Firstly, the extensive plains of Eastern Europe offered no geographical boundaries to its far-flung frontiers, and therefore no natural obstacles to invasion.† Encroachments from without became merely a question of strength of arms. Secondly, the elective character of the kingship not only made the state a prey to the intrigues of neighbouring sovereigns, but resulted in the military aristocracy, once the bulwark against Slav and Turk, becoming oppressive landowners and conspiring nobles. Thirdly, the poverty of the country forbade the rise of a middle class of burghers and artisans who, elsewhere, were playing an important rôle in the life and activities of the states.

Prussia (*i.e.*, Brandenburg-Prussia) on the south-west and Russia on the north-east expanded towards each other and cut off Poland from the Baltic; while in the south Turkey and Russia pushed her back from the Black Sea. Furthermore, in 1654 the Cossacks transferred their allegiance from Poland to Russia, and thirteen years later Poland ceded Smolensk and other towns, retreating to the line of the

* These encroachments on the Scandinavian countries have continued to our own day, and were a marked feature of Imperial German and Russian policy. Prussia extended into Holstein and Schleswig; Russia into Finland and Lapland, two converging movements threatening the very existence of the Northern powers.

† The Pripet swamps and the northern lake lands offered some protection to Poland proper.

Dnieper. This shrinkage of Poland continued until at the close of the century Prussia, Russia, and Austria divided the remaining territory among themselves (see Map 20).

IV.—The East.

In the East, the Ottomans, though driven out of Hungary, were still in a position to menace South-East Europe. They still held sway over the Balkan Peninsula, with extensions of their rule north-westward to Bosnia, north-eastward to Wallachia and Moldavia. The Russians (in the eyes of Western Europe, intruders from Asia) during the seventeenth century made only slight headway against Sweden for the possession of the Baltic, but had succeeded in advancing westward against Poland to the line of the Dnieper.

The reign of **Peter the Great** (1682-1725) saw great changes in both the home and foreign policy of Russia, changes which brought Russia into the political affairs of Western Europe. Peter began systematically to "europeanise" his country. "At the beginning of his reign, Peter found Russia Asiatic; he left her European." He saw, too, that Russia must follow consistently and persistently a policy which would give her outlets to the sea. "It is not land I want," he once said, "but water." Thus, when the numerous Slav principalities were united, Russia struck vigorously and successfully at Swedes in the north and Turks in the south, so that by 1740 her territories extended in an unbroken line from the Baltic to the Black Sea.

War of Austrian Succession.

We now return to the event which widened the war between the sea powers of the north-west into a general European conflict. The Habsburg sovereign might very well be called "the sick man" of later mediæval Europe, for whose possessions there would be sooner or later a general scramble. Emperor Charles VI., fearing the break-up of his hereditary

dominions on his decease, obtained by diplomacy and concessions the agreement of the chief states of Europe to what is known as the Pragmatic Sanction, by which the whole of his possessions should pass to his daughter Maria Theresa.

Charles died in 1740, and scarcely two months later Frederick of Prussia seized Silesia and occupied Breslau. Other states followed Prussia's example, and Maria found herself surrounded by a ring of enemies. Spain claimed the Milanese; France the Netherlands; and Bavaria sought possession of Bohemia; while the King of Bavaria urged his own election as Emperor—a dignity which had come to be regarded as vested in the House of Habsburg.

Hungary and the Austrian duchies alone remained to the Queen, and Britain her only ally. Naturally, British assistance mainly consisted of war with France and Spain on the seas and abroad, though British and Hanoverian troops marched to Maria's relief in Europe, and during the war protected the Austrian flank by defeating the French and Bavarians at Dettingen. In view of the continued success of Frederick, British statesmen advised buying over the King of Prussia by the cession of Silesia, a policy which, after Dettingen, resulted in the evacuation of Germany by France.

Had the Queen now been satisfied with her success in retaining all her possessions except Silesia, the war might have terminated. She decided, however, to change from the defensive to the offensive and attempted to wrest Alsace and Lorraine from France, Naples and Sicily from Spain. Consequently Frederick, not anxious to see his rival acquiring new power and prestige, re-entered the war against Austria. France overran the Netherlands, defeating Dutch, Hanoverian, and English troops at Fontenoy, and Frederick cleared Silesia of the Austrians, who had attempted to recover it.

Both in Europe and overseas the war dragged on with no marked successes on either side till in 1748 peace was signed at Aix-la-Chapelle. By the terms of the treaty, France and

Britain restored their conquests and Frederick retained Silesia.

The Seven Years' War.

The Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle settled neither the European nor extra-European problems concerning which the war had been waged. Maria Theresa had ceded Silesia with a bad grace and, with her minister Kaunitz, worked diligently to effect an alliance with both Russia and her inveterate enemy, France, for the humiliation and dismemberment of Prussia. Overseas the struggle between British and French traders and colonists continued with more or less open hostility.

Again the action of Frederick precipitated a European war, which in turn made the colonial wars more bitter. The King of Prussia, aware of the new alliance being formed against him, struck first by invading Saxony, whose Elector had joined Austria. The task before Frederick was enormous. No natural barriers protected the small infertile state of this "upstart of Brandenburg," but fortunately England kept his war-chest full, while his army had developed into the most perfect fighting-machine in Europe.

Nevertheless the war opened disastrously. Britain lost Minorca to the French; Frederick was defeated at Kolin and compelled to evacuate Saxony and Bavaria, which he had overrun at the outbreak of the war. The Duke of Cumberland, who was guarding the line of the Weser, surrendered with his English and Hanoverian troops at Closter-Seven. At this juncture, Pitt succeeded to power in England and, refusing to ratify the convention, supplied Frederick with men and money, thereby enabling him to press the war more vigorously.

The King of Prussia with his small but efficient army determined to attack his foes before they could unite. In three brilliant victories he defeated each of his enemies in turn, the French and Austrians at **Rosbach**, the Austrians

and Russians at **Leuthen**, and the Russians at **Zorndorf**. Unfortunately victory was almost as exhausting as defeat to a state like Brandenburg, whose resources were very limited. For a time Frederick was seriously menaced by both Austria and Russia, and was only saved from the French by the victory of the Duke of Brunswick at **Minden** in the Westphalian Gate, where the Weser cuts through a ridge of high land.

Meanwhile, the success of Clive in Madras and his victory at Plassey in Bengal virtually ended the military power of France in India, and left Britain free to compete only with native Maratha states for the supreme command. In North America, the defeat of Braddock at Fort Duquesne (1755) had been avenged and the scene of his disaster renamed Pittsburg, in honour of the Great Commoner. The campaign against the French in Canada was crowned by the victory of Wolfe at Quebec, a campaign which gave North America east of the Mississippi and north of Florida wholly to the British.

Britain had been everywhere successful and was undoubted mistress of the seas. On the other hand, the strain of waging "two wars at once for two distinct objects" was telling on France. Consequently, when George III., having by his general attitude rid himself of Pitt, offered to negotiate terms of peace, Louis XV. was only too eager to enter into negotiations.

Peace of Paris, 1763.

England shamefully deserted Frederick* and concluded the war by signing the Peace of Paris. By it, England retained her conquests in Canada and India, securing also "the trident" which Louis XIV. had so much desired. In Europe, only minor changes were made in the map, and

* Frederick was compelled to make peace separately at Hubertsburg.

practically the "balance of power" was maintained among France, Spain, Austria, Prussia, and Russia.

America and Poland.

Within a few years of the Peace of Paris, Britain became involved in a struggle with her North American colonies, a



20.—THE PARTITION OF POLAND.

struggle known as the War of American Independence. For a time the colonials fought unaided, but ere long first France and then Spain joined, in the hope of recovering their lost territory and sea power. The entrance of these two countries into the war ensured success to the "United States," as the

new republic called itself, though fortunately Britain by a number of naval fights succeeded in retaining the position she acquired during the Seven Years' War. By the Treaty of Versailles (1783) Britain lost her colonies along the Atlantic coastal plain, but elsewhere retained her territories.

While the western nations—Britain, France, and Spain—had thus been occupied, the three great eastern states—Russia, Prussia, and Austria—conferred for the partition of Poland. In 1772, the dismemberment began, and was continued in 1792 and again in 1795, when the last remnant of this ancient kingdom disappeared from the map and became merely the meeting-place of three aggressive empires. At the close of the eighteenth century Europe with its wars and desolation presents a dark and dismal picture: peasants everywhere ground down under harsh landlords; the fields often the playground of nobles in peace and the battlefield in war. Nevertheless, the dawn of brighter things could be observed and a new Europe was being born.

RECAPITULATION

The War of the Spanish Succession and the Treaty of Utrecht showed Britain in two rôles: (1) the guardian of the "balance of power" in Europe, (2) the exploiter of lands beyond the seas. She established footholds in India, North America, and the West Indies, and the fact that in each of these areas France was her rival gave to the wars of the eighteenth century those common features which enable them to be grouped as the Second Hundred Years' War.

A survey of Europe in 1740 shows the West—Britain, France, and Spain—becoming more and more stable and consolidated; Central Europe losing the fringes—Netherlands, Rhineland, Switzerland, and Italy—and leaving the Empire curtailed and weakened by the rivalry of the growing powers of Prussia and Austria; East Central Europe breaking down under pressure from east and west—Sweden driven from the southern shores of the Baltic, Poland considerably diminished in territory, Hungary an appanage of Austria; East and South-East Europe undergoing changes due

to the crystallisation of Slav states round Moscow and the weakening of the military power of the Ottoman.

The War of the Spanish Succession was followed by that of the Austrian Succession (1740-1748), arising out of the annexation of Silesia by Frederick of Prussia on the death of the Emperor. In 1756 the Seven Years' War broke out and was waged in all parts of the world. The treaty of Paris (1763) left Europe unchanged, but gave Britain control of North America, India, and the sea. The War of American Independence (1776-1783) lost Britain her North American colonies, but elsewhere she held her own. While the Western Powers were engaged in war, Prussia, Austria, and Russia commenced the dismemberment of the ancient kingdom of Poland.

QUESTIONS

1. "The Dnieper made Russia Byzantine; the Volga made it Asiatic. It was for the Neva to make it European." Explain.

2. Give a brief account of Poland as the bulwark of Europe to the East. What were the chief elements of weakness which led to its decay? Show by outline maps the process of its territorial shrinkage and partition.

CHAPTER VIII

THE DAWN OF DEMOCRACY

(PERIOD : *Eighteenth Century.*)

IN the previous chapter we fixed our attention on the great wars of the century and their immediate results. It is now necessary to retrace our steps a little in order that we may, to some extent, understand those silent forces working deep down in the mass of the people, which after a steady pressure against the hard crust of feudal restraint and oppression began to rumble and suddenly burst with volcanic activity in Paris and spread with remarkable rapidity into every state of Europe.

For over half a century (1789-1848) the Continent was rent with civil strife of a character she had never experienced before. It can only be compared with the revolutions and upheavals which closed the Great War of 1914-1918 and commenced the equally disastrous class war particularly in Central and Eastern Europe.

The struggle of a century ago was a mighty effort of peoples animated with new ideas of government and liberty against rulers desirous of maintaining the old. As was to be expected, the nascent forces, after a few periods of reaction, triumphed over those that were decadent. Feudalism with its roots deep down in the past gave place to democracy with ideals which formed the lodestar of the future. Stated in this way, however, the change means very little. Let us examine definite aspects of the transition.

Under feudalism, territories were regarded by the King and nobles in much the same way as modern landowners regard their estates, except that the former had greater power over their states than have the latter over their lands. It, therefore, frequently happened that territories were divided and united without studying in any way the wishes of the people living on those territories. Certain areas might be given away as a dowry, others annexed by marriage, others again, partitioned to settle some private dispute. The treaties terminating the numerous wars of the Middle Ages were nothing more than the arbitrary redivision of possessions. The map of Europe became a veritable patchwork, the pieces changing hands very frequently and in a most bewildering fashion.

New Principles.

The revolutions definitely established the principle that nations, not territories, must be studied in the settlement of international problems. They were to be regarded as units and to have their national sentiments respected. It is quite true that in Europe were many regions where the principles for which the peoples of the early nineteenth century struggled remained a dead-letter on account of the military authority of one or other of the Great Powers: Poland partitioned among Russia, Prussia, and Austria; Finland crushed under the heel of Russia; Austria-Hungary, with its mixture of races—Germans, Magyars, Slavs, Rumanians, and Italians—acknowledging more or less willingly the sovereignty of one monarch. Nevertheless, nationality became the ideal, and bore fruit in the liberation of oppressed people to form autonomous or fully independent states and in the idea of a League of Free Nations.

A feudal monarch was autocratic. He governed as he thought best, and, of course, it was to his advantage to rule wisely. If he desired success in his wars and revenues to maintain his dignity, his country must be prosperous, and

this could only be obtained by good government. Many sovereigns of Europe during the second half of the eighteenth century strove to introduce reforms into their realms, but without granting political powers to their subjects. They were despotic, although they might be "benevolent despots." In the nineteenth century the *sovereignty of the people* became an accepted principle. The people claimed, and in the end generally obtained, the right to share in the government. The franchise enabled them to elect members to Parliament, and Parliament controlled the ministers of the King. This is what is meant by saying that the sovereign granted a liberal constitution.

The Three Estates.

Again, under feudalism the classes of society were distinct and separate. There were (a) the aristocracy—the landed nobles and the high dignitaries of the Church; (b) the wealthy middle class—lesser landholders, merchants, and tradesmen—the *bourgeoisie*; and (c) the peasants—the cultivators of the soil, scarcely recognised politically as part of the nation—the *people*, and the proletariat. Naturally the position of these "estates" was very different in the eighteenth century from what it had been in the early years of feudalism, when the nobles were the governors of the various divisions of the realm and were paid for their services in land. Gradually their duties were reclaimed by the King and performed by his officials, though at the same time the nobles lost few, if any, of their privileges. In France, therefore, on the eve of the Revolution there existed an aristocracy performing little service to the state but enjoying many privileges, chief of which was exemption from certain forms of taxation. The wealthy middle class had, of course, sprung up under the protection of the great barons, and though by the eighteenth century the wealth of many of them far exceeded that of the nobles, they had no share in the affairs of the state. They

were regarded as occupying a position inferior to the nobility,* while their wealth was heavily taxed in order that the privileged classes might still remain exempt.

The ideal of the sovereignty of the people, when established, demanded a change. Nobles had to bear their share of taxation, wealthy burghers successfully claimed a voice in the expenditure of their money, and even the peasantry obtained by an extended franchise the right of electing members to Parliament. Thus, instead of a nation divided into societies distinct and separate from each other, there rose a *nation* with the various classes united in the work of central and local government and the general well-being of the state.

Revolutionary Changes.

So far we have spoken of the great changes affecting the state as a whole. The transition of the individual peasant from serfdom to liberty was no less important. On the Continent, in some countries more than others, the conditions of life found on the manors of England during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries still existed even to the nineteenth century. The arable land of the village in those times was divided into three great fields, two cultivated for food and fodder, the other left fallow each year. In each of these fields a villager had a certain number of strips scattered here and there in order that good and bad land might be shared alike. The same person had also the right to turn cattle on to the pasture, pigs on to the waste, ducks and geese on to the common. For these rights the peasant had to assist in cultivating the lord's domain, to give the lord the best of his own produce, to grind his corn at the lord's mill (and pay for it),

* Only a small part of the nobility were actually descendants of the feudal families. The greater part had been ennobled in recent times by the King, or had purchased or inherited a government office or judgeship, which carried the privileges of nobility with it.

and in many other ways provide for the maintenance of the lord. Here is an appeal of a Hungarian peasant to the Emperor at the end of the eighteenth century :

“Most merciful Emperor, four days’ forced labour for the seigneur ; the fifth day fishing for him ; the sixth day hunting with him ; and the seventh day belongs to God. Consider, most merciful Emperor, how can I pay dues and taxes ?”

Now, while this state of affairs was not entirely swept away by the upheavals of the revolutionary period, better conditions prevailed everywhere, and men became accustomed to, and hence demanded, liberty—liberty to hold their own land, liberty to move from place to place, liberty to offer their services to those who would give them the highest wages.

Such in brief is the transition effected by the revolutions from 1789-1848. Do not think that the change was complete. There remained in many countries to a greater or lesser degree some of “the rubbish of feudalism,” and much even now remains to be accomplished before the principles of the Revolution are perfectly established throughout Europe. What was attained was a change in the manner of thought and in the ability to see that there still existed even at the opening of the twentieth century, many problems inconsistent with the new conception of right. It supplied the *motif* for the destruction of militarism by the forces of democracy in 1918.

We have said that the transition commenced in 1789 and terminated in 1848. Strictly this is not true. These dates merely mark the period of violent agitations which were the outward manifestations of a change of thought which began long before the French Revolution, and which still continues. All through the long wars of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries there was a gradual awakening—a renaissance—of the people. It was more pronounced in France, less and less apparent in the countries further east. Men discussed and wrote about the importance of agriculture and the conditions

of the cultivators of the soil; about the abuses of the Church; about the rights of every man as a member of the state.* The word which expressed all these hopes and aspirations was "liberty." It was for this reason that so many Frenchmen went over to America as volunteers to assist the colonists in their struggle against Britain. The United States Republic was established on the principles of liberty, and formed a model to many men for the reconstruction of the government of their own country.

France, the Pioneer.

Why did France become the centre of revolutions and the teacher of new ideas to Europe? In these matters, as in others, it can truly be said that what France does to-day Europe will do to-morrow, and the answer to our question is based on the fact that the French were socially and intellectually in advance of other states. This was due in no small measure to the geographical position of France, which, as we have seen, enabled her to receive from north and south, from the Mediterranean and the Northern Seas, ideas and influences

* VOLTAIRE (1694-1778) attacked the Church, maintaining that all ecclesiastics should be subject to the government, should pay taxes like everyone else, and should have no power to deprive a citizen of the least of his rights on the ground that he is a sinner.

DIDEROT (1713-1784) urged people to dare to think for themselves, and by the *Encyclopædia* (17 volumes) prepared by himself and learned scholars—the *Encyclopædists*—spread among a wide range of intelligent readers a knowledge of scientific advance and roused enthusiasm for reform and progress.

MONTESQUIEU (1689-1755) opened the eyes of his fellow-citizens to the disadvantages and abuses of their government by his enthusiastic eulogy of the limited monarchy of England.

ROUSSEAU (1712-1778) in his celebrated little treatise, "The Social Contract," declared the natural equality of mankind and the right of every man to have a voice in the government.

TURGOT (1727-1781) and other economists attacked the system of finance and commerce, advocating free trade and a reform of the system of taxation.

which by interaction and assimilation place the French in the forefront of European nations. Even during the eighteenth century the condition of all classes from nobles to serfs was better than elsewhere, the latter having sufficient liberty to appreciate it, with burdens sufficient to anger them. Though serfdom had largely disappeared in France long before the eighteenth century and the peasants were generally free men who owned or rented their land, the lords still claimed many feudal privileges. The noble demanded a certain portion of the peasant's crops; occasionally he could still collect a toll on sheep and cattle driven past his house. In some cases the lord maintained the only mill, winepress, or oven within a certain district, and could require everyone to make use of these and pay him a share of the product. Even when a peasant owned his land, the neighbouring lord usually had the right to exact one-fifth of its value every time it was sold. The nobles, too, enjoyed the exclusive privilege of hunting, and the game which they preserved for their amusement often did great damage to the crops of the peasants, who were forbidden to interfere with hares and deer. Many of the manors had large pigeon-houses in which were one to two thousand nests, and the innumerable pigeons spread over the fields, devouring the newly sown seed. Moreover, the Government forced the peasants to bring out their horses and carts and work for a certain time every year without remuneration in the construction and repair of the public roads. This, of course, was a form of taxation—the *corvée*—and from this as from the *taille* the nobility were exempted.

When the opportunity offered, the whole nation, except a large proportion of the nobility, backed the movement for reform and succeeded in obtaining it not only for France, but for Europe. It is interesting to compare the enthusiasm of the French with the indifference of the Poles to a similar agitation. In Poland the nobles were naturally averse from change, while the serf population were so ground down as to

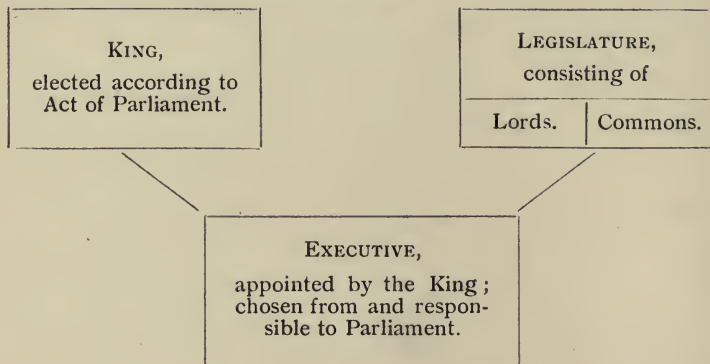
care little about a change of government. The movement was limited to a small middle class, and ended not only in failure but in a partition of the country among the neighbouring states.

Beginnings of the French Revolution.

All France awaited an opportunity to effect reform. That opportunity came in 1789, when Louis XVI., on account of his financial difficulties, called together the States-General. The Estates of the Realm had not met for 175 years, during which time much had happened. Nobles and clergy chose their representatives, but it was during the election of the Commons or Third Estate that the country became so excited. Even the unenfranchised peasants and artisans—the great unrepresented “Fourth Estate,” as it is sometimes called—were stirred, and looked to the class immediately above them to further their cause. The States-General met at Versailles, but it was soon evident that the King had set himself against any real change in the government. The procedure of two centuries ago was to be followed—viz., voting should be *par ordre* and not *par tête*. On any particular matter the nobles should register one vote, the clergy one, and the Commons one. By this arrangement the two aristocratic bodies could always outvote the Third Estate, no matter what might be the number of representatives in each estate. The Commons determined on a change. They refused to accept the old arrangement or to be dissolved. They took an oath to stand by each other and declared themselves a *National Assembly*, to which they invited the other two orders. Gradually the King and aristocracy gave way and the National Assembly became the accepted form of legislature. The first point had been won; there should be a single chamber and voting should be *par tête* and not *par ordre*. Feudal privileges were swept away in a night (August 4-5), and the Assembly commenced the hard task of framing a constitution embodying the new

ideas and principles. The difficulty was to determine the relation to each other of the three authorities, King, executive, and legislature. Should the legislature consist of one, two, or three houses? Should the executive be dependent on the legislature or vice versa? What power should be vested in the sovereign? These and many other problems required a solution, and experiment after experiment was made to find one.

The following diagram indicates the relation of King, legislature, and executive in **Britain** :



The legislature consists of two houses, the House of Lords and the House of Commons. The former is non-elective and consists of lay and ecclesiastical peers; the latter is elective, and immediately after an election represents the opinion of the majority of the electors of the country. Before any Bill can become law it requires not only the sanction of Parliament but the consent of the King. These two are thus mutually dependent, and this connection is further emphasised by the method of choosing the executive. The high officers of State are appointed by the King; they are his ministers and nominally carry out his wishes. They are chosen, however, from that political party which commands a majority in the

House of Commons. It is the rule for the heads of all the great Government departments to be members of one or other of the Houses of Parliament, so that their actions may be criticised and their policy discussed. *The executive, therefore, is appointed by the King, but is chosen from, and is responsible to, Parliament.* Thus King, legislature, and executive are intimately connected and mutually necessary. France had this model before her, but she refused it, partly because it was British, and partly because it failed to please the aristocrats on the one hand and republicans on the other. Our next chapter will be devoted to the experiments which were made in constitution-building and the events connected with them.

RECAPITULATION

The new ideas in social, political, and religious matters which grew up during the eighteenth century resulted, after the violent upheavals of 1789-1848, in a change of government in every country of Europe, a change, broadly speaking, from feudalism to democracy.

FEUDAL.	1789-1848.	DEMOCRATIC.
TERRITORIES as private property ; no respect for wishes of inhabitants.	Period of violent revolutions.	NATIONS regarded as units, with national sentiments.
SOVEREIGNTY vested in a "despot."		
NATION divided into distinct and separate classes.		SOVEREIGNTY vested in the people.
SERFDOM of the lowest classes.		NATION UNITED, so that all classes are represented in Parliament.
		LIBERTY of the individual.

The conditions in France enabled her to take the lead, and the calling of the States-General (1789) gave an opportunity for the formation of a National Assembly, which overthrew the *Ancien Régime* and formed a new constitution, which, however, differed from that of England, in which the King, legislature, and executive are mutually necessary and dependent.

QUESTIONS

1. Discuss the position of France as a cultural collecting and distributing centre. Why is Paris less expressive of the inner life of France than, say, Lyons or Caen, but yet is *the* expression of French culture?

2. Estimate the importance of the following as contributory factors in the awakening of France during the second half of the eighteenth century : (a) the wars of Louis XIV. and Louis XV.; (b) the geographical discoveries of the century ; (c) the American War of Independence ; (d) the writings of French scholars.

CHAPTER IX

THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

(PERIOD: 1789-1802.)

It would be well at the outset of our study of the French Revolution to emphasise two main features: the first, the remarkable vitality of the nation in surviving its disasters; the second, the endeavour to find a constitution which would guarantee "liberty, equality, and fraternity" to the subject and at the same time security to the realm.

At first the *legislatures* were supreme—the National (Constituent) Assembly (1789-1791), the Legislative Assembly (1791-1792), and the National Convention (1792 to the establishment of the Terror, 1793). But when dangers at home and abroad became a serious menace to the State, power passed into the hands of the *executives*—the Committee of Public Safety (1793-1794), the Directory (1795-1799), the Consulate (1799-1804)—constitutional changes which prepared the way for the rule of the strong man, Napoleon Bonaparte. The period of 1789-1804 naturally falls into two, which may be styled—(a) the rule of the legislatures, (b) the rule of the executives, while the following diagram attempts to indicate the full swing of the pendulum from absolutism to absolutism, and the gradual surrender of liberty for security and military glory.

Rule of Legislatures.

(a) NATIONAL ASSEMBLY.—The constitutional epochs thus marked out form suitable divisions in which to study this period. Each has its special characteristics, and each is

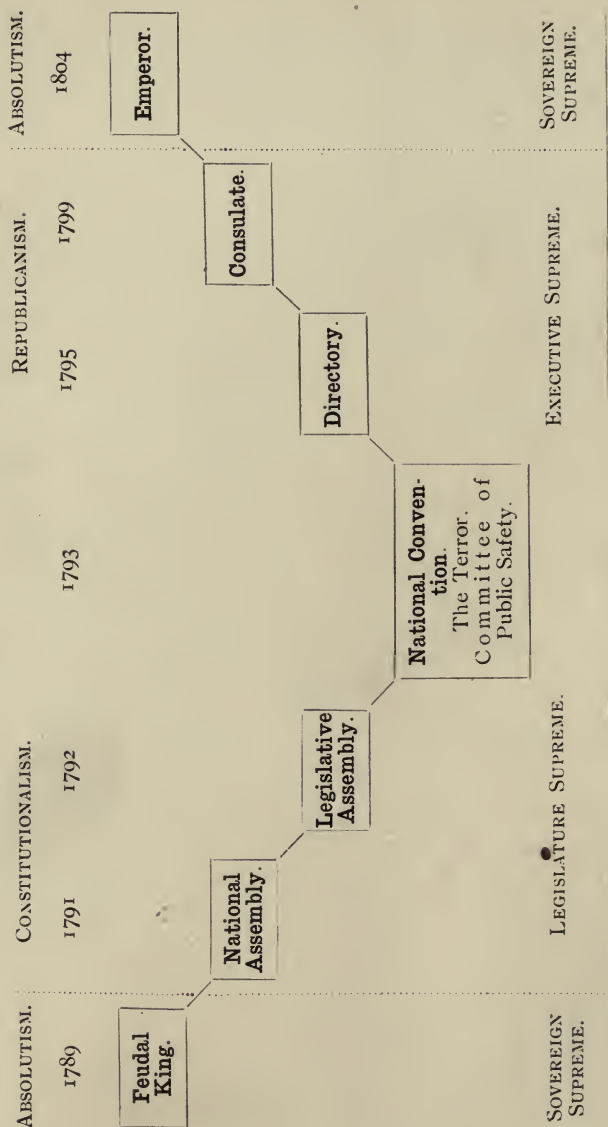


DIAGRAM ILLUSTRATING THE PERIOD OF CONSTITUTION-MAKING (1789-1804).

terminated by an event of importance. The National Assembly, composed largely of inexperienced, enthusiastic theorists, had set itself the task of framing a constitution. Much difference of opinion existed as to the form the new government should take, though all agreed that reform of some kind was necessary. Indeed, Louis himself was not wholly averse from reform, but he was weak and vacillating. First he listened to the Court party, and determined to maintain the royal prerogatives; then he inclined to the Assembly, and promised a constitution. The result was that he fell under the suspicion of both parties, and gave occasion for riots and mob rule. The dismissal of his minister, Necker, who favoured reform, caused the lowest classes of Paris to arm themselves and destroy the Bastille. A little later the rumour that the King and his friends had trampled underfoot the tri-colour—the new national flag—roused the mob to bring the royal family from Versailles, virtually as prisoners, to Paris. These outbursts of violence were unfortunately not the only dangers to a peaceful settlement of the government. In coffee-houses and elsewhere—clubs as they were called—men assembled to talk over all kinds of problems in a manner which augured ill for the country.

Meanwhile the National Assembly struggled hard with the constitution. The majority of the members were determined on making the legislature supreme, practically abolishing the power of the King and establishing an executive separate from the Assembly, but subject to its criticism. For a time the influence of Mirabeau prevented such a catastrophe. He saw the danger of either curtailing too much the power of the King or of making the executive responsible for administration while authority remained vested in the legislature. Authority and responsibility must go together, otherwise government becomes a failure. Mirabeau wished to follow the English model, but opposition from both King and Assembly was too strong.

The work accomplished by the Convention was, nevertheless, enormous: it abolished feudal privileges; it did away with the ducal (which were also tribal) divisions which kept alive local sentiment,* redividing the country for local administration into eighty-three departments named after physical features; it confiscated the property of the Church and established religious toleration. The *ancien régime* was replaced gradually by a liberal government, the essential changes being embodied in the constitution of 1791. By it the legislature was to consist of a single chamber; the executive was made dependent on the legislature and subject to its criticism, while the powers of the King were almost entirely abolished. Louis became merely the ornamental head of the State. While the Assembly was busy with domestic affairs, storm-clouds were gathering on the eastern frontier. Belgium revolted against Austria, its suzerain, and looked to France for help. German Princes who ruled in the Rhenish States viewed with alarm the spread of the revolutionary movement to their own lands. The outlook was ominous both for France and Europe.

(b) LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.—The constitution drawn up by the National Assembly provided for the calling together of the Legislative Assembly, which met in 1791. Unfortunately, no member of the National Assembly could be elected to the new legislature. The members, therefore, were untried men with no experience in politics except what they had picked up in the local popular societies, the most famous being the Jacobin Club† of Paris, with which were affiliated clubs in almost every part of France. Naturally, these influenced the elections, and the Jacobins were very powerful in the new Assembly. The first danger to be met was the threatening

* E.g., Duchy of Brittany (Britons or Bretons), Duchy of Normandy (Norsemen or Normans), etc.

† So called because they rented a large room in the monastery of the Jacobin monks.

attitude of Austria and the German Princes. From Belgium to Nice hostile armies prepared to invade France, though the danger was to some extent minimised by the number of revolutionaries within the frontier States themselves. In 1792 the Legislative Assembly compelled Louis to declare war on Austria, thereby commencing that war of ideas which was to divide Europe for many years to come—France the champion of liberty, nationality, and sovereignty of the people; Austria the champion of the old régime and reaction.

At first the French armies suffered defeat, and a violent outburst of anger against the King and nobility followed. The infuriated mob stormed the Tuileries,* causing the King to seek safety with the Assembly, and proceeded shortly afterwards to murder in cold blood the many aristocrats who had been imprisoned. These dreadful "September Massacres" removed what was thought to be a danger. The Assembly suspended the King and arranged for the calling of a National Convention to alter the constitution, while volunteers joined the armies for a renewed effort to drive back the invaders. The tide turned, successes were achieved along the whole line. The defeat of the Prussians at Valmy was so important in its effects that Goethe, who was present, said: "Here and to-day a new epoch of world history is commencing, and you may say you were present at it."

(c) NATIONAL CONVENTION.—On the day that Valmy was won, the National Convention met in Paris and assumed the direction of affairs. It was democratic in character, and one of its first acts was to declare France a republic. Success continued to attend the French arms. Savoy and Nice were annexed, the Rhine provinces conquered, and by a victory at Jemappes (near Mons) Belgium was added to the territories

* Five hundred members of the National Guard of Marseilles came marching through France to aid Paris in forcing the Assembly to depose the King. It was then that the *Marseillaise*—composed a few months before by Rouget de Lisle at Strassburg—"caught on," and became the French national anthem.

of France, and the Scheldt opened to commerce. The conquest of the Austrian Netherlands filled the Convention with the wildest enthusiasm, and it proceeded to declare all peoples its allies, all governments its enemies. Such an attitude was sure to rouse opposition in statesmen and rulers, even of those countries which were disposed to be friendly. France found herself surrounded by a ring of foes—England, Holland, the Empire, and Spain. Even far-away Russia considered she assisted the Allies by crushing out revolt in Poland and annexing the country. In January, 1793, Louis XVI.—“citizen Louis Capet”—after a farcical trial, was guillotined. The execution of the King gave the necessary pretext for an advance of the Allies on France.

Pitt urged in the House of Commons that the Revolution was incompatible with the peace of Europe, and England must in honour join the Allies and save Europe from falling under the yoke of France. On the same day that Pitt made his speech the French Convention boldly declared war upon England and Holland. England was the last of the European Powers to join the coalition against France, but once involved, she persisted in her opposition until the great Napoleon on board an English ship sailed to his island prison, the English possession of St. Helena.

The allied armies closed on France, and everywhere the untrained, undisciplined troops fell back before the invaders. Belgium was evacuated as rapidly as it had been conquered, and steps were taken to partition France in much the same way as Russia, Prussia, and Austria had partitioned Poland.

The effect of these disasters on the Convention was remarkable. It realised for the first time that a large body of men, like the legislature, is too unwieldy to regulate all administrative duties. It was necessary to grant power to a workable body of men. The executive must have power to act if it is to be responsible for its actions. In England, you will remember, the executive is chosen from the members of

the legislature, and is responsible to Parliament. The National Convention did not fully grasp this safeguard, but contented itself by appointing a COMMITTEE OF PUBLIC SAFETY with supreme executive authority. Henceforth the executive and not the legislature became the guiding and controlling force of the State.

Rule of Executives.

The Committee of Public Safety naturally regarded the defence of the realm as of greater importance than the liberty of the subject. Local revolts in the towns of Bordeaux, Marseilles, and Lyons against the arbitrary acts of the Jacobins, and in the department of La Vendée* against the new law of conscription, were ruthlessly put down. In the legislature, the leaders of the Girondists, who accused the Mountain† of violence and anarchy, were placed under arrest and the party virtually ceased to exist. The reign of fear which commenced and lasted from June, 1793, to July, 1794, is known as THE TERROR. Among the men who come prominently to the fore are Marat, Danton, and, later, Robespierre and Saint-Just. The policy of the Committee of Public Safety may briefly be stated as the security of the realm from enemies at home and from foes abroad. The chief instruments in attaining the first were the *Law of Suspects*, which permitted the arrest of suspected persons; the *Revolutionary*

* The revolt in La Vendée which commenced against conscription developed into civil war on behalf of the Church as the nobility became the leaders of the insurgents.

† The three great groups or parties in the Convention were (a) Girondists—so called because the leaders came from the Gironde—they were moderate republicans. (b) The Mountain—so called because they occupied the tiers of high benches in the hall—extreme republicans. (c) The Plain or Centre, who formed the main body and trimmed their course between the other two. The Mountain were mainly Jacobins, who accused the moderate Girondists of attempting to divide the Republic.

Tribunal, which allowed some form of trial; and the *guillotine*. Conscription and reorganisation of the army accomplished the second. Successes were gained in the south against Spain and along the whole of the eastern frontier against the Empire, while Belgium was once again annexed. The safety of France secured, reaction set in against the Rule of Terror. Of the four leaders already mentioned, Marat had early been assassinated by a young woman named Charlotte Corday, and Danton had fallen a victim to the guillotine through the ambition of Robespierre. In July, 1794, the Convention roused itself to action. Robespierre and his followers were outlawed, and subsequently condemned to the guillotine. The Reign of Terror had ended, and a similar but moderate government carried on the administration. It was realised that no change could be made in the power and authority of the executive while the country remained at war. France became one vast arsenal, and labour was directed either to the manufacture of munitions of war or to the cultivation of food crops, even though this meant financial and industrial chaos, with consequent misery. The attention bestowed on the army was repaid by the continued successes. Holland was conquered and constituted the Batavian Republic, French troops crossed the Rhine into the Empire, and passed the Pyrenees into Spain.

(d) THE DIRECTORY.—Many changes had happened since the Convention met on the day of the victory of Valmy. It was now deemed advisable to reconstruct the constitution and embody in it the new principles of government which experience had proved to be essential. Accordingly, by the Constitution of the Year III. (of the Republic) the legislature consisted of two chambers, a Council of Five Hundred and a Council of Elders. The executive continued to be separated from the legislature and placed under the control of five Directors, who were responsible for the good government of the State. This government is known as the Directory,

named, as you will observe, from the executive and not from the legislature.

The successes under the Convention had reduced the number of parties in the alliance against France. Prussia concluded peace with the Republic and withdrew to the east, where she found the partition of Poland an easier and more profitable venture; while Holland and Spain, jealous of British trade and colonial expansion, actually formed a French alliance. The task, therefore, before the Directory in 1796 was to attack Austria on land and Britain on sea. No longer was the war to be one of defence, but of offence. Three armies advanced on Austria, three fleets (Spanish, French, and Dutch) prepared to strike at Britain and British trade.

With the aid of a map, let us follow the land campaigns. Austria held the greater part of the central plains of the Po, in addition to her control of Germany. The main attacks were to be delivered across the Rhine under Jourdan and Moreau, while Napoleon was given command of the army in Italy. Bonaparte soon converted a "side-show" into the main theatre of the war by his brilliant strategy and dash. The upper valleys of the Po formed part of the possessions of the King of Sardinia, who was in alliance with Austria. Napoleon Bonaparte, who had been appointed to the command of the army in Italy, turned the Maritime Alps and attacked his enemies at the point where their two armies approached each other. He then scattered the Sardinians, with the results that their King sued for peace and the Austrians retreated to the north of the Po. The numerous parallel streams which come down from the Alps offered serious obstacles to the advance of Napoleon. One by one, in a series of brilliant battles, such as Lodi, the rivers were crossed and the Austrians compelled to seek the shelter of the four great fortresses known as the Quadrilateral—Mantua, Peschiera, Verona, and Legnago. Notice the position of these. They guarded two important routes, one through the Tyrol, which was really a

group of roads, the most important following the Adige Valley, crossing the Brenner, and so to Innsbruck; others "side-tracking" over the Oetzthal to the River Lech for Augsburg. The other route is the one along which so many of the early invaders of Italy—Huns and Goths—came, the narrow plain between the Venetian marshes and the Alps. The road then crossed the Julian Alps to Klagenfurt, and thence through Leoben, over the Semmering Pass, to Vienna.* It was necessary for the French to take the Quadrilateral before any further advance could be made, and it was equally necessary for Austria to prevent its surrender. Time and again troops were hurried from Bavaria over the Brenner to Lake Garda or the River Adige, only to be defeated ere they could relieve the beleaguered garrisons. Mantua was the last to fall, and with its capitulation the eastern route to Vienna lay open.

Now let us turn to the armies in Germany. The one under Jourdan advanced from Düsseldorf through Frankfurt and Würzburg to effect a junction on the Danube with Moreau, who was advancing from Strassburg through Stuttgart.† The Archduke Charles of Austria placed himself between the two at Ingolstadt, and then by a series of brilliant manœuvres attacked and drove back first Jourdan and then Moreau. Napoleon meanwhile, urging the Directory to keep Austria busy in Bavaria, crossed the Tagliamento, took Klagenfurt, and entered Leoben. He feared to advance further lest the Archduke should send troops from Bavaria along the diagonal gorge on the north-west side of Leoben joining the valleys of the Enns and Mur, and so sever his communication with Italy. At Leoben he was a sufficient menace to cause Austria to open negotiations for peace, the terms of which were embodied later in the Treaty of Campo-Formio (1797).

* Railways now follow these routes.

† Note that these two routes are roughly those followed by the railways from Ostend and Paris respectively to Vienna and the east.



21.—THE FRENCH CAMPAIGN OF 1797.

Inset: THE ITALIAN "QUADRILATERAL."

By the treaty France virtually obtained the Rhine as her eastern frontier; the Ligurian and Cisalpine republics which Napoleon had formed out of his Italian conquests were recog-

nised; Belgium was ceded to France, and Austria received compensation for her losses in Italy and the Netherlands by being permitted to annex the Venetian Republic with its possessions on the eastern Adriatic coast. Thus was the first task of the Directory completed. What of the three fleets which were to attack Britain? The Spanish fleet was destroyed by Jervis and Nelson off Cape St. Vincent, and a little later the Dutch fleet was annihilated by Duncan off Camperdown. These two victories effectively prevented the French becoming masters of the Channel and spared England the devastation of invasion, enabling her to pursue almost without disturbance her industry and commerce, which in the end enabled her to defeat Napoleon.

Egyptian Campaign, 1798.

Napoleon, on his return to France with the Treaty of Campo-Formio, was regarded as a hero and the saviour of his country. He had defeated Austria; now he outlined a plan for the defeat of Britain. England could not be invaded, but she could be struck in the Mediterranean and India. Loss there of trade and possessions, following upon the loss of the American colonies, would mean disaster, and the Directory readily agreed to the scheme. Part of the plan was to invade and occupy Egypt and Syria. Accordingly, Napoleon set sail with an army, evaded Nelson, who was on the lookout for him, took Malta, and succeeded in landing at Alexandria. Shortly afterwards the British seized Malta and destroyed the French fleet in Aboukir Bay, thus cutting off Napoleon and his army from France. At first Napoleon's land campaigns were successful. Within sight of the Pyramids he defeated the Egyptian Mamelukes, and then advanced along the old caravan route past El Kantara to Syria, in an attack on Turkey, which had declared war on France. Jaffa fell to the French, but as Acre, assisted by the English fleet, held out, and Napoleon could not afford to leave an unconquered town

in his rear, the Egyptian campaign was a failure, though Napoleon boasted: "If I had remained in the East I would probably have founded an Empire like Alexander. I would have gone on a pilgrimage to Mecca." He left his army, and slipped back to France just in time to take a prominent part in the commotions which were agitating Paris.

(e) THE CONSULATE.—Matters had gone ill with the Republic both in Italy and Germany on the withdrawal of the armies, with the result that the Directory had become discredited. When Napoleon reached Paris, he found many influential men desirous of overthrowing the government. With these plotters he finally associated himself. By military force he succeeded in obtaining the suppression of the Directory and the creation of a provisional government, consisting of three Consuls, who, together with certain other persons, were to revise the constitution once more. By this revolution Bonaparte, backed as he was by the army, practically became ruler of France. One of the other Consuls summed up the situation when he said to his friends: "Messieurs, nous avons un maître; il sait tout, il peut tout, il veut tout."

The new constitution—the constitution of the Year VIII.—was very elaborate but cumbrous. It provided for no less than four assemblies—one to propose the laws, one to consider them, one to vote upon them, and one to decide on their constitutionality. The real power of the State lay in the executive—the three Consuls, but especially in the First Consul, Napoleon.

The task before the new government was very similar to that which had faced the Directory—discontent within and enemies without. As on the previous occasion, it was decided to attack Austria through Germany and through Italy. Moreau led the army across the Rhine; Napoleon himself virtually commanded the army in Italy. With his usual brilliant manœuvring, Napoleon brought the Austrians to a pitched battle at Marengo. This victory was very soon

followed by Moreau's success at Hohenlinden. Austria again sued for peace. By the Treaty of Lunéville (1801) France was to retain possession of the Austrian Netherlands and the left bank of the Rhine. The Batavian, Helvetic (Swiss), Ligurian, and Cisalpine republics which she had established were to be recognised. Austria was to have Venice.

Meanwhile Britain had rigorously exercised her right to search neutral ships, and the northern powers of Denmark, Sweden, and Russia in consequence formed an "armed neutrality," which was hostile to this country. Lest the fleets of those countries should join the French, Copenhagen was bombarded by Admiral Parker, with Nelson second in command, and all danger in that direction was removed.

Napoleon remained supreme on land, Britain retained her command of the sea. Why prolong the struggle? Negotiations were commenced, and in 1802 the Treaty of Amiens was signed. "France promised to retire from Southern Italy, and to leave to themselves the republics it had set up along its borders in Holland, Switzerland, and Piedmont. England recognised the French government, gave up her newly conquered colonies, save Ceylon and Trinidad, acknowledged the Ionian Islands as a free republic, and engaged to replace the Knights of St. John in the Isle of Malta."

RECAPITULATION

The French Revolution presents two features, one political—constitution-making; the other military—defensive, and later offensive, war against the enemies of France. The *National Assembly* (1789), though interrupted in its deliberations, carried through many sweeping reforms and framed a new constitution. The *Legislative Assembly* (1791) declared war on Austria, and thereby opened a new epoch in the world's history. The *National Convention* (1792) declared France a republic, and in order to meet the new dangers to the State appointed a Committee of Public Safety. The period of blood rule is called the Terror, the leaders being overthrown in 1794 and a new government—the *Directory*—established.

Attacks on Austria in Germany and Italy resulted in the Treaty of Campo-Formio (1797), advantageous to France; but the Spanish and Dutch fleets—allies of France—were defeated by Britain off St. Vincent (February, 1797), and Camperdown (October, 1797). This campaign was followed by an unsuccessful attack on Britain through Egypt. By this time the Directory had become discredited, and was followed by a *Consulate*, with Napoleon as First Consul. Austria, defeated at Marengo (Italy) and Hohenlinden (Bavaria), concluded the Treaty of Lunéville (1801). The Treaty of Amiens (1802) restored the peace temporarily between Britain and France.

QUESTIONS

1. During the French Revolution internal forces tended to disunion, external forces towards union. The former indicated the possibility of the establishment of racial and cultural groups within geographic regions; the latter made France attempt to obtain her "natural frontiers." Why was this?

2. Show how by the conquest of Syria Napoleon could strike a blow at Britain. Give a brief sketch of the campaign in Egypt and Syria.

CHAPTER X

NAPOLEON

(PERIOD : 1802-1815.)

FOR thirteen years after the Treaty of Amiens the dominating personality of Europe was Napoleon — the Titan, as he has very aptly been styled. By the English he is remembered as a daring and brilliant military commander ; by Western Europeans as a liberator and a teacher of nationality—howbeit an ambitious soldier ; but by his countrymen he is beloved as the founder of their industrial and economic greatness, no less than as the General who led their armies to the conquest of Europe. No one person has left such permanent and varied results on history. Of France itself Napoleon III. declared : “ Our actual society is nothing more than France regenerated by the Revolution of 1789 and organised by the Emperor Napoleon I.”

The actions of Napoleon Bonaparte as First Consul, and later as Emperor, show that he was animated by two desires. He wished, on the one hand, to establish, first in France and then in Europe, those principles of the Revolution which to him seemed to make for prosperity and unity. On the other, he aimed at reviving the traditions of Imperial Rome and the glories of the reign of Charlemagne. The influence of Rome is clearly seen in the choice of such terms as Consul, Senate, Tribunate, Prefecture, and Emperor of the French,* the desire

* Consul—member of executive under constitution of Year VIII.

Senate—a Council of State under the same constitution, chosen for life, with power to elect from a National List the legislative houses.

to be regarded as the successor of Charlemagne is indicated by some of his own statements—*e.g.* :

“Le Providence qui a voulu que je rétablisse le trône de Charlemagne vous (Lippe) a fait naturellement rentrer avec la Hollande et les villes anséatique dans le sein de l'Empire.”

And on another occasion :

“Je n'ai pas succédé à Louis mais à Charlemagne.”

At first the desire for the reconstruction of France and the liberation of Europe outweighed the lust for conquest. In the first victorious march through Europe France conquered by her ideas no less than by her armies. Wherever Napoleon went, he abolished, directly or indirectly, the worst of the remaining evils of feudalism, and by his reconstruction and rearrangement of the states taught the first lessons in nationality, particularly to Germany and Italy. The forces he thus set free proved his undoing when his ambitions led him to adopt measures which brought distress to the nations he had freed.

Napoleon as Administrator.

Before considering these two campaigns, one of liberation, the other of conquest, we will notice the reforms and constructive work which Napoleon commenced while First Consul, and which he continued as Emperor. The truce of Amiens enabled him to begin the reorganisation of France, and bring her out of the financial and industrial chaos in which he found her. His almost absolute power enabled him to make sweeping reforms in every department of the government. He realised that ultimate military success depended upon an intelligent

Tribunate—one of these legislative houses.

Prefecture—a new local administrative area.

Emperor of the French (not France)—the title taken by Napoleon at his coronation.

nation and a prosperous industrial and agricultural country. To this end he devoted much time and thought even in the midst of his wars.

He established a centralised system of administration, by which he was able to control the whole country through his officials. He completed the work, commenced under the Convention, of codifying the laws of France and abolishing the local customs which still lingered in old tribal areas, as Brittany, Normandy, and Aquitaine.* He retained the national system of weights and measures, known as the metric system, introduced by the Convention. He also developed a national scheme of education. His greatest achievements, however, were connected with industry. At that time England alone had become a machine-industrial country supplying the world with her manufactures. Napoleon saw in this trade the secret of Britain's power, and determined to attack it. He *made* France an industrial country. Her coal and minerals round Le Creuzot and Nancy and in the north-east were developed; communications were improved by a network of good roads, canals, and navigable rivers; the Bank of France was founded to assist manufacturers and merchants and to regulate the finance of the country. By a system of protection—*i.e.*, by placing heavy duties on manufactured goods coming into the country—he hoped to keep the home market exclusively for French capitalists.

In order to cripple English trade, he encouraged the production of foodstuffs which could take the place of colonial products—the substitution of chicory for coffee; the cultivation of sugar-beet; and the discovery of new dyes to replace such as indigo and cochineal, which came from the tropics.

* The resulting codification of the civil law—the *Code Napoléon*—is still used, not only in France, but also, with some modifications, in Rhenish Prussia, Bavaria, Baden, Holland, Belgium, Italy, and even in the State of Louisiana (U.S.A.—ceded to France by Spain, 1802).

One condition of peace he almost invariably imposed on conquered countries was that they should exclude English goods in favour of French. This policy gradually developed into the famous "Continental System," by which the whole of Europe was to be closed to England, a policy which ultimately, through the rising of the peoples resulted in the overthrow of the Emperor.

Closely allied with these ambitions was the desire to gain colonial possessions, particularly in the West Indies, where Guadeloupe and Martinique had been restored by the Treaty of Amiens. Whatever schemes Napoleon may have had in this direction, however, were shattered by the victory of Trafalgar (1805) and the continued supremacy which the British maintained on the sea. Nevertheless, you will see that Napoleon, like Louis XIV., desired "the shadow of Empire and the substance of sea power," or rather he wished to revivify the Empire, so that his command on land and sea should be real and effective.

Napoleon as Soldier.

We now turn to the two great military campaigns which commenced in 1804, and continued until the overthrow of Napoleon at Waterloo in 1815. In the first (1804-1807), Napoleon may be regarded as a liberator and reorganiser; in the second (1807-1815) he is an unscrupulous, ambitious conqueror. The campaigns ending in the treaties of Campo-Formio and Lunéville had crushed Austria and crippled the Empire, except Prussia and certain northern states which had remained neutral. Napoleon therefore expected little opposition in this direction. With England, however, the case was different; she had remained undefeated, and the Treaty of Amiens was of the nature of a truce between the victor on land and the victor on sea. The aim of Napoleon to build up French colonies inevitably clashed with British interests, and the refusal to restore Malta to the Knights of St. John in

accordance with the treaty was made a pretext for a renewal of the war.

During the months of peace both parties continued to prepare for the struggle which they regarded as inevitable. Napoleon massed a Grand Army at Boulogne for the invasion of England. Pitt succeeded in uniting Britain, Austria, and Russia in the Third Coalition. The vigilance of the fleet prevented the French, Dutch, and Spanish navies co-operating for the purpose of obtaining command of the Channel and convoying the army across. The wish of Napoleon failed to be realised: "Let us be masters of the Channel for six hours, and we are masters of the world." The crushing defeat of the French and Spanish fleets off Trafalgar in 1805, by giving command of the seas to the British, removed all subsequent danger of invasion.

Wars of Liberation and Reconstruction.

Unable to strike a blow at England, Napoleon turned fiercely on Austria. He himself and part of his troops made as if they would attack through Strassburg. Accordingly, the Austrian army was stationed at Ulm to watch the defiles of the Black Forest through which the French army was expected to debouch. The main bodies of troops, however, advanced from Cologne and Hanover along the numerous valley roads to the Main and Neckar and, by occupying Munich, succeeded in cutting off the Austrians from Vienna. Some regiments escaped, but at Ulm twenty thousand surrendered, with scarcely any loss to the French. The road to Vienna between the Bohemian Forest and the Alps lay open to the victors. Napoleon entered the city, and then continued the pursuit of the Austrians, who were retreating towards the Moravian Gate, through which they expected their Russian allies to advance.

The opposing armies met at Austerlitz, where Napoleon won one of his most brilliant victories. The effect on Austria differed from the effect on Russia; the former was crushed, the

latter merely repulsed, and capable of offering opposition elsewhere. Austria, in the Peace of Pressburg which followed, ceded Venetia to the Kingdom of Italy and the Tyrol to Bavaria, while loss of territory was followed by loss of prestige within the Empire when Bonaparte increased the territories of Bavaria and Würtemberg, and raised them to the dignity of kingdoms.

Napoleon now determined to draw Prussia into the war. This he succeeded in doing by insult, violation of territory, and secret diplomacy. In 1806 Frederick William declared war, and placed his army astride the great military road from Paris, through Mayence, Frankfurt, Erfurt, and Leipzig, to Berlin and the north-east. Napoleon did not intend to deliver his attack in that direction. Many of his troops had remained in Bavaria after Austerlitz, and these were now reinforced. The map readily indicates how from there he could strike either at Vienna or at Berlin. At the right moment he marched his army past the Fichtel Gebirge and struck the Prussians on the flank at Jena. His victory enabled him to advance to Berlin and impose heavy penalties on the country. He then continued north-east to Danzig and Königsberg to meet the Russians. Nothing was done during the winter, but in the early spring he attacked the enemy at Eylau. The battle was indecisive, and both sides suffered heavily. This was followed by a French victory at Friedland, resulting in the opening of negotiations for peace.

Napoleon had no wish to crush Russia. He desired the friendship and assistance of the Czar, and the conference of the two Emperors on an elaborately constructed raft in the River Niemen was indicative of the fact that neither could claim conquest over the other. By the Treaty of Tilsit (1807) between France and Russia, Napoleon and Alexander virtually agreed to divide Europe between them. The Prussian provinces between the Rhine and Elbe were made into the kingdom of Westphalia; the Polish possessions were con-

verted into the Grand Duchy of Warsaw, and placed under the Elector of Saxony, who was raised to the dignity of a King. At Tilsit Napoleon reached the zenith of his power—Western Europe at his feet and Eastern Europe in close alliance.

Out of this campaign sprang two results of great importance: first, the fall of the Holy Roman Empire and with it the influence of Austria in Germany; second, the reconstruction and growth of nationalism in Prussia, ultimately resulting in her taking the lead towards German unity. The policy of Napoleon in Germany was to replace the numerous petty states by a few large ones dependent on himself. We have already seen how he enlarged the territory and raised the title of Bavaria, Saxony, and Würtemberg. The Confederation of the Rhine grouped the Rhenish provinces under his Protectorship. By these means he isolated Prussia and Austria, and indirectly caused the Emperor to abolish the ancient title in favour of "Hereditary Emperor of Austria."

Reorganisation of Prussia.

We now turn to Prussia, crushed and humiliated. For her a new era commenced with the struggle to throw off the yoke of Napoleon. The abolition of serfdom and the reorganisation of land tenure, whereby the peasants might hold their own land, were necessary preliminaries towards obtaining the support of the masses, who would otherwise prefer French to Prussian rule. Liberty to the cultivators of the soil was followed by liberty for the artisan classes of the towns, who now had a voice in municipal matters. Many of these reforms were carried out by Stein and Hardenburg. Humboldt laid the foundation of a state system of education, comprising instruction in agricultural and technical no less than in general subjects. Scharnhorst and Gneisenau reorganised the army by causing all able-bodied men to be trained to arms. Thus the

state recovered itself, and by 1813 was able, in the great Wars of Liberation, to free itself from the tyrant.

Continental System.

England still defied Napoleon, who, now that all Europe was directly or indirectly under his control, determined to cripple British trade by closing the Continent to English ships. By decrees issued from Berlin, and later from Milan, ships and vessels calling at British ports were liable to seizure. Britain replied by declaring all the ports of Europe in a state of blockade. It was impossible for either, and especially for Napoleon, to carry out these threats. France was the only other country that manufactured textiles and iron goods on a large scale, and she could not supply even the army, which by special permits often obtained overcoats from Leeds and boots from Northampton. The restrictions, however, were so stringent and the maintenance of the army so costly that the peoples began to distrust Napoleon and to prepare for his overthrow. Portugal, Spain, Russia, Prussia, and Austria, in turn rose against him.

Wars of Conquest.

SPAIN AND PORTUGAL.—The second campaign therefore differs considerably from the first. It opens with the refusal of Portugal to close her ports. British troops were despatched to render aid. Napoleon at the same time angered the Spanish by practically deposing their sovereign and placing on the throne his own brother. The whole of the Iberian peninsula was in arms, but fighting in guerilla fashion. It required the trained British regiments to form a rallying-point for the patriots of the two kingdoms. The Peninsular War divides itself into two unequal periods. The first was marked by the advance of Sir John Moore from Lisbon towards Valladolid and his famous retreat on to Corunna before superior numbers of French under the leadership of Napoleon. The successful

rearguard action at Corunna enabled the English to embark, but without their brave General who had led them to victory. It was during this pursuit of Moore that Napoleon hastily left for Paris to recommence operations against Austria. Meanwhile, Sir Arthur Wellesley, at the head of reinforcements, took command in Spain and laid his plans for driving out the French. A relief map of Spain shows three geographical features which decided the course of the Peninsular War. The transverse mountain ridges obstructed the march of troops from north to south, while the valleys exposed them to surprise flank attacks. The fortresses of Ciudad Rodrigo and Badajos crowning the western edge of the plateau commanded the main east-west routes, and while in possession of the French prevented any great advance from Portugal into Spain. The fortification of the peninsula of Cintra by triple earthworks through Torres Vedras gave Wellington an impregnable base in touch with England by the sea, and from which he could advance against the French. In 1812 Ciudad Rodrigo and Badajos fell, and the great "drive" northward commenced. A victory at Salamanca enabled Wellington to enter Madrid and restore the Spanish King. The following year he advanced steadily towards the French frontier. A victory at Vittoria in Spain was followed by a victory at Toulouse (1814) in France, but by this time Napoleon had fallen.

AUSTRIA.—To understand how this happened we must take up the narrative again at the point where Napoleon left the pursuit of Moore in order to return to Paris. His sudden return was due partly to the plots which his spies had detected, and partly to Austria again taking up arms and advancing into Bavaria. By rapid manœuvres, the French defeated the Austrians, and after taking Vienna pursued the enemy across the Danube towards the north-east. At Wagram the Austrians were again defeated and forced to seek terms of peace.

RUSSIA.—By this time, also, it was obvious that the

friendly attitude of Russia towards Napoleon was changing to one of hostility. The "Continental System" hit her very hard, and the Czar decided to reopen communications with Britain. Napoleon reluctantly advanced towards Poland and the Baltic with an enormous army of French, Austrian, and Prussian troops. The Russians refused to give battle, and Napoleon, much against his will, commenced the historic march to Moscow. The policy of the Czar was to avoid a pitched battle, merely harassing the columns and threatening communications. As everyone knows, Napoleon found Moscow untenable and retreated through Russian snows back to the west. The disasters which befell the Grand Army on its return march had the effect of deciding the Prussians and Germans to make a bold bid for freedom.

Wars of Liberation.

The years 1813 and 1814 are remembered as the period of the WARS OF LIBERATION. Freedom, however, was not to be attained without tremendous struggles. Napoleon, by superhuman efforts, filled his depleted ranks and succeeded in defeating the combined Prussian and Russian armies, first at Lutzen and then at Bautzen. During the short time which followed, the Allies endeavoured to obtain the support of Austria. Napoleon's refusal to accept the proposals of Austria definitely caused that country to join his enemies. Gradually the armies of the Allies surrounded the French troops, and in the three days' battle at LEIPZIG—the Battle of the Nations—destroyed the last hopes Napoleon may have had of recovering his military ascendancy in Europe. Gradually the Allies pushed on to the Rhine, and thence into France. Paris fell into their hands, and Czar Alexander had the satisfaction of riding at the head of his troops into the capital, as Napoleon had done into Moscow.

The Settlement.

The terms of the Peace of Paris restored Louis XVIII. and banished Napoleon to Elba. The previous arrangements entered into by the Powers were confirmed, and outstanding differences were to be settled by a Congress at Vienna. There Kings and diplomats assembled and endeavoured to remodel the map of Europe into the form it had in 1789, with such modifications as the treaties previously arranged among themselves made necessary. These deliberations were suddenly interrupted by the reappearance of Napoleon in France and his enthusiastic reception at Paris. The troops which the Allies had in readiness were sent in three main divisions across the Upper, Middle, and Lower Rhine respectively. Napoleon attacked the army in Belgium, and, after defeating the Prussians at Ligny and the British at Quatre Bras, was himself defeated by the combined British and Prussians at WATERLOO (June 18, 1815). Again the Allies entered Paris, and by the second treaty exiled Napoleon to St. Helena, restored once more Louis XVIII., and imposed upon France a heavy indemnity, loss of territory, and the restoration of those works of art which she had obtained during her conquests since the days of the Republic.

RECAPITULATION

Napoleon had two aims—the reorganisation of France and the revival of the glories of Imperial Rome and the Age of Charlemagne. In France he organised administration, education, and industry, and attempted to build up a colonial empire. His campaigns may be divided into two groups—wars of liberation and wars of conquest. The first, in which he defeated the Austrians at Austerlitz, the Prussians at Jena, and the Russians at Friedland, terminated with the Treaty of Tilsit, by which Emperor and Czar virtually agreed to divide Europe between them. Two results followed this series of campaigns—the extinction of the Holy Roman Empire and the reorganisation of Prussia.

The second series of campaigns was due partly to the distress arising from the Continental System and partly to the national forces which opposed the tyranny of Napoleon. It commenced in Portugal and Spain, to which places Britain sent troops. Later it extended to Austria and Russia. The disastrous retreat from Moscow was followed by the War of Liberation and the crushing defeat of Napoleon at Leipzig. The Emperor abdicated, and was sent virtually as a prisoner to Elba. He escaped to France, endeavoured to re-establish himself, but was defeated at Waterloo and sent a prisoner to St. Helena. By the Treaty of Paris the long Napoleonic Wars were brought to a close, unsettled problems being discussed by a Congress which met at Vienna.

QUESTIONS

1. Comment on the following : " Our (French) society is nothing more than France regenerated by the Revolution of 1789 and organised by the Emperor Napoleon I." Support your statements by data.

2. " We beat Napoleon with turnips." Why was Britain in a position to benefit by the agricultural and industrial revolutions? How did she utilise her powers, and how did Napoleon seek to counteract them?

3. Why may the wars of Napoleon be divided into two classes—
(i.) Wars of Liberation ; (ii.) Wars of Conquest ?

CHAPTER XI

REACTION AND REVOLUTION

(PERIOD : 1815-1848.)

THE Congress of Vienna which assembled in 1814 and continued its deliberations till 1815 had before it the reconstruction of Europe, a task made still more difficult by the existing treaties and the conflicting interests of the Powers concerned. As far as possible, the assembled sovereigns and diplomats aimed at undoing the work of the French Revolution by restoring to the Continent the general conditions of 1789. They recalled former rulers, and modified or abolished the constitutional governments obtained during the political upheavals. Statesmen, however, were by no means unanimous on all matters before the Conference, and the armies which defeated Napoleon during the "Hundred Days" had really been assembled to watch, and if need arose, to fight each other. Prussia and Russia had determined on great territorial gains in Poland, in Denmark and Saxony, as well as the humiliation of France in revenge for Jena and Moscow. On the other hand, Britain obstinately opposed any great increase of power to Russia, whom she feared in India and the East, while Austria as obstinately refused to agree to any grants to Prussia which would increase the power of her rival.

No useful purpose would be served by giving separately the treaties and settlements arranged by the various countries and sanctioned by the Congress. All, more or less, ignored the lessons of liberty, sovereignty, and nationality which had been taught by France, so that sooner or later their decisions ended

in failure. Nevertheless, it is not true to regard the Congress of Vienna as a useless assembly of selfish diplomats, for each really thought that the peace of Europe could only be secured by ensuring the "stability" of nations. Moreover, the Congress taught the world that the most complicated international problems could be settled by a concert of the Powers, though a hundred years had to pass before a League of Nations was born out of the Congress of Paris closing another great European War.

The "Final Act" of the Congress of Vienna may be summarised as follows :

ALSACE-LORRAINE was granted to France, now under the restored Bourbon rule of Louis XVIII. France thus obtained her "natural frontier" on the Rhine between Basel and Rastatt, in spite of the warning of the Prussian minister that war between France and Prussia would be inevitable until the Argonne and not the Rhine was the boundary. *Alsace-Lorraine was taken by Prussia in 1870, and retaken by France in 1919.*

BELGIUM—an agricultural and industrial country—was united with HOLLAND—a commercial state—to form a kingdom of the Netherlands. It was thought that such a state would be sufficiently wealthy to be self-reliant and act as a buffer between France and Prussia. *Belgium and Holland separated as the result of the revolution of 1830, and even the Treaty of London (1839) left unsolved the problem of the Scheldt mouth and Limburg.*

SWITZERLAND became a federation of independent cantons instead of a united republic, and its neutrality was guaranteed by the Powers for ever. *Civil war resulted in a new constitution, 1848, the Great Powers not being consulted.*

DENMARK suffered for her adherence to Napoleon by losing Norway, which was granted to Sweden in compensation for the loss of Finland to Russia. *Norway and Sweden peacefully separated into two kingdoms in 1905.*

RUSSIA received the whole of Poland except Posen (to Prussia) and Galicia (to Austria), in addition to Finland. The



23.—THE SETTLEMENT AT VIENNA, 1815.

Note the boundaries of the old Middle Kingdom of the Partition of Verdun of A.D. 843, now the belt of small kingdoms.

policy of “Russifying” these two regions has led to chronic discontent and revolution in these regions. *Finland took advantage of the Great War to set up a republic, while the*

Congress of Paris (1815) re-established Poland with Danzig as an international outlet.

In ITALY the old political divisions were restored under their "legitimate" rulers, except that Genoa became incorporated with Piedmont and passed into the hands of the King of Sardinia. *By 1861 Italy was united into one country under the King of Sardinia, with his capital at Rome.*

No attempt was made to undo the work of Napoleon in GERMANY in so far as he reduced the number of petty states from about four hundred to forty. The sovereigns of these larger areas, however, regained much of their lost authority, and the aim of patriotic Germans to establish a united country was foiled by Metternich, the Austrian minister. The former nominal unity expressed by the term Holy Roman Empire reappeared in a German Confederation which exercised little control. *By 1871 all the Germanic states except the hereditary possessions of the Habsburgs were united in the modern Empire of Germany.*

PRUSSIA received compensation for her loss of Poland to Russia by large grants from the secularised States of the Church on the Rhine. This had three great results in the subsequent history of Europe: First, the loss of Slav and the gain of German lands led Prussia to turn from expansion *outside* the old Empire to concentration and annexation *within*. She became more German than her rival Austria, and was looked to as the leader of German aspirations towards unity. Second, on account of the vast resources of coal in the Ruhr valley, the new possessions in the west became more and more important as Germany became an industrial country. This, as it were, drew Prussia still further into Germany and accentuated her leadership. Third, Prussia now bordered on France, and thereby became the champion of the German cause against her neighbour. *A series of wars from 1864-1871 definitely settled the leadership of Prussia in the newly constituted German Empire.*

AUSTRIA, on the other hand, received Venetia and Lombardy in exchange for the Netherlands, with the result that her interests became less and less German, though for a time she remained sufficiently powerful to dominate Prussia even in Germany. *The Austro-Prussian War (1866) definitely gave Prussia the lead over Austria.*

BRITAIN sought no territory on the Continent, but she added to her colonial empire by retaining Malta (ensuring her power in the Mediterranean) and obtaining Heligoland from Denmark. *This island was given to Prussia in 1891 in return for non-interference in Britain's annexation of Zanzibar.* In addition, Trinidad (from Spain), Mauritius, Tobago and St. Lucia (from France), Ceylon and Cape Colony (from Holland), became part of the British Empire. The Congress of Vienna, furthermore, expressed its disapproval of the slave trade, declaring the traffic contrary to the principles of civilisation and human right.

It is interesting to compare these sanctions of the Congress of Vienna with the terms of the Treaty of Westphalia, more especially from the point of view of the results which followed. They illustrate the change which had taken place during the eighteenth century. The outcome of the Treaty of Westphalia, as we have seen, was a series of wars waged by the sovereigns of Europe against each other over disputed *territories*. The outcome of the sanctions of Vienna was a series of revolutions waged by the *peoples* of Europe against their rulers over disputed *principles*. The Congress of Paris, 1919, has carried developments a stage further by a readjustment of the claims of small nations and the formulation of a great ideal—a League of Nations.

For the moment it looked as though reaction against the French Revolution and Napoleon was about to triumph over reform. Russia, Austria, and Prussia formed a Holy Alliance, nominally to ensure that the countries of Europe should be governed on Christian principles by their legitimate rulers;

actually it established absolutism and the power of foreign nations to interfere in the internal affairs of other countries and maintain a tyrannical control. Britain entirely dissented from such intervention, though fully prepared to join the three Eastern powers in a Quadruple Alliance for the maintenance of the peace of Europe. Her attitude was clearly expressed by her statesmen at the time and immediately afterwards in such statements as the following :

“ England stands pledged to uphold the territorial arrangements established at the Congress of Vienna. The invasion of a weaker state by a stronger one for the purpose of conquest would demand our immediate interference. But with the internal affairs of each separate state we have nothing to do.”—CASTLEREAGH.

“ While England was no friend to revolution, she did emphatically insist on the right of nations to set up for themselves whatever form of government they thought best, and to be left free to manage their own affairs so long as they left other nations free to manage theirs.”—CANNING.

Thus did Britain state the policy of the sanctity of treaties and international obligations, as well as the non-interference by any outside power in the home affairs of any nation, great or small.

Revolutions of 1820.

During the years which immediately succeeded the Congress of Vienna many of the rulers, especially the restored Bourbon sovereigns of France, Spain, and Naples, chose reactionary ministers and gradually suppressed the liberal constitutions which they had granted at their restoration. Revolution commenced in the revolt of Spanish troops mobilised for embarkation to Central and South America, where the Spanish colonies were establishing republics. The rebels proclaimed the constitution of 1812, which had been abolished at the restoration. As the revolution spread from Spain to other states, this charter gained a popularity alto-

gether beyond its merits. It had been modelled on the French constitution of 1791 by the Cortes or national parliament which had assembled on the overthrow of Napoleon's schemes in Spain. It did not abolish the kingly power, but proclaimed the sovereignty of the nation and reduced royal authority to a shadow by requiring that it be exercised through a ministry. The legislature was to consist of a single chamber, to be elected biennially by universal suffrage. While declaring Catholicism to be the only religion of the nation, the constitution abolished press censorship, feudal obligations, and the privileges of the nobility. The King bowed before the storm, and expressed his intention of maintaining the charter without the least intention of keeping his promise.

From Spain revolution spread westward to Portugal and eastward to Naples and Piedmont. In 1807 the King of Portugal, unable and unwilling to oppose the armies of Napoleon, had fled to the Portuguese possession of Brazil. Instead of returning in 1815, he offended Portuguese pride by proclaiming his dominions as the "United Kingdom of Portugal, Brazil, and the Algarves," appointing a Regent to Portugal. In 1820 the Portuguese revolted against the regency. The King reluctantly returned and accepted the constitution of 1812, leaving his son to become ultimately the Emperor of an independent Brazil (1825).

The revolts in Naples and Piedmont, where again the populace demanded the charter of 1812, indicated vaguely but surely the beginnings of that mighty struggle which was to culminate in an "Italy for the Italians." For the moment, however, the revolts were crushed, through the influence and activities of the Austrian minister, Metternich. He succeeded in persuading the Powers, except Great Britain, that such insurrections should be suppressed in the interests of peace, and obtained their sanction for an Austrian army to crush the revolt in Italy, and subsequently a French army to suppress the revolution in Spain (1823).

The Monroe Doctrine.

The success of the French arms in Spain precipitated the long-standing question of the status of the Spanish colonies. Spain naturally sought to reconquer them, and in this she had the moral and to some extent the material support of Austria, Russia, Prussia, and France. England, however, opposed all schemes of reconquest which would injure British trade with the new republics, which trade meanwhile had grown by leaps and bounds. This policy was supported by the United States, President Monroe declaring :

“ With the existing colonies or dependencies of any European power we have not interfered and shall not interfere. But with the governments who have declared their independence and have maintained it, and whose independence we have on great consideration and on just principles acknowledged, we could not view any interposition, for the purpose of oppressing them or controlling in any other manner their destiny, by any European power, in any other light than a manifestation of an unfriendly disposition towards the United States.”

This enunciation of the famous “ Monroe Doctrine ” of “ America for the Americans ” permitted, in the words of Canning, the creation of “ a new world to redress the balance of the old.” For almost a century the United States adhered to the principles of the “ Doctrine ” by her exclusive policy towards the political affairs of Europe. When she did interfere, during the Great War, it was to save the world for democracy, and by her formulation of a League of Nations to indicate a method superior to war for the settlement of international disputes.

Revolt of Greeks.

As in the Far West the effects of the revolution of 1820 mark the beginning of the latest phase of American history, so in the Near East they mark the opening of a new epoch in the story of the decline of the Ottoman Empire. The one

great question which the Congress of Vienna had shelved as being too dangerous to meddle with was the Eastern Question—the problems of race and territory arising out of the gradually declining power of the Sultan. These form the subject of later chapters, but are mentioned here inasmuch as the Greek War of Independence is traceable to the influence of France. Greece, animated by the spirit of liberty which had spread throughout Europe, and remembering her glorious past, attempted to throw off the yoke of the hated Muhammadan Turk. Europe looked on, uncertain what to do. Naturally, the *peoples* sympathised with Greece, and as naturally Metternich and similar reactionaries hesitated to countenance a rebellion which struck at the very root of their pet theory—the maintenance of the *status quo*. In the end Greece obtained her independence, and was recognised by the Powers as a new kingdom of Europe.

While Greece struggled for liberty, peoples elsewhere were in the depths of despair. Depression followed the great wars of a quarter of a century, and this was aggravated by a series of bad harvests and by the large number of paupers, many of them soldiers unable or unwilling to work. In England and France the new factory industries added still more to the evils by drawing people from the land and herding them in large manufacturing towns, where sanitation and water-supply were totally inadequate. Ignorant of the true causes of their poverty, the majority of the people regarded their misery as the result of the repressive measures of their governments, misery which could only be removed by a more liberal constitution and an extension of the franchise. Thus social discontent led to political discontent, until by 1830 France was on the brink of another revolution and England on the eve of great reforms.*

* 1832, Parliamentary Reform Act; 1834, Municipal Reform Act.

Revolutions of 1830.

Almost immediately after the restoration in 1815, Louis XVIII. of France and his successor, Charles X., had gone over more and more toward reaction and the suppression of the liberal constitution of 1814. The crowning folly was reached in July, 1830, when the King issued four Ordinances which suspended the liberty of the Press, dissolved the legislative Chamber, revived a clause in the Charter confining to the King the initiation of laws, and deprived manufacturers of their franchise by making it dependent on the payment of the land tax. Paris revolted, and within a week the dynasty was overthrown. Louis Philippe, Duke of Orleans, was invited by the middle classes to take the throne, but the "citizen King" commenced his reign under conditions which were far from happy.

From France revolt and revolution spread, like ripples on a pond, to the capitals of Europe. Belgium broke away from Holland, partly because she objected to Dutch preponderance in a government which should represent both states equally, and partly because the two peoples were completely divided by race, religion, language, and tradition. In 1831 the Belgians obtained a limited monarchy, and by the Treaty of London, 1839, her sovereignty was fully recognised and her neutrality guaranteed by the Powers.*

Poland, not satisfied with the constitution granted her by the Congress of Vienna, rose against Russia, and for a time defied the Russian armies. Then resistance broke down, the constitution was abolished, and the grip of the autocrat tightened upon that unfortunate country.

Elsewhere in Europe the influence of the revolution spread, but, except in very few cases, it struggled hopelessly with the armed forces of the sovereigns. In Germany a few of the

* This treaty is the "scrap of paper" agreed to by Prussia, but shamefully violated by her invasion of Belgium in August, 1914.

smaller states obtained a more liberal constitution, otherwise the revolt was ruthlessly suppressed. At first better success seemed to attend the arms of the patriots in Italy. A secret society, the Carbonari, had spread revolutionary doctrines throughout the country and had kept alive the spirit of revolt. Joseph Mazzini, too, with his ideals of a united Italy governed on Utopian principles, had weight with certain classes. Unfortunately, the heel of Austria was too firmly placed on Lombardy and Venetia and the astute Metternich too energetic to give even the remotest chance of success to the revolutionary movement which had commenced in the Papal states, Modena and Parma. The unruly states were crushed and Mazzini exiled. Thus the year 1830 saw France and Belgium successful, Poland and Italy unsuccessful, in their revolution for liberty and nationality.

Liberalism and Nationalism.

For another eighteen years the peoples of Europe remained outwardly quiet, but inwardly they were seething with discontent. In England and France the unprecedented development of commerce and industry had led to new social problems and new causes of unrest. In England men demanded "The Charter," further factory legislation, and the repeal of the Corn Laws. In France the socialistic programme included universal suffrage and national workshops, where the state would find work for everyone.

In Germany the tendency was to combine liberalism with nationalism, to obtain more liberal constitutions in the various states of the Confederation, and at the same time to work towards the formation of a German "nation." In Italy the old hatred of Austria, with all her reactionary principles—the Austrian "system"—remained. In Austria the problems were exceedingly complex. Here alone of the countries of Western Europe the emancipation of the serfs had not followed, directly or indirectly, on the victories of Napoleon. There was there-

fore discontent against feudal privileges and obligations. Superimposed on this was racial or national discontent, for the dominions of the Austrian Emperor contained a heterogeneous collection of peoples—Germans, Magyars, Czechs, Italians, Serbs, Slovenes, Croats, Rumanians, etc. **Magyars**, inspired by the oratory of Kossuth, sought an independent Hungary, with its capital Pesth; **Czechs** came near to obtaining an autonomous Bohemia, with its capital at Prague; the **South Slavs** (Yugo-Slavs)—Serbs, Slovenes, Croats, and Dalmatians—attempted to make Agram the capital of a Slav “Illyria”; **Italians** of Venetia, Lombardy, and the Tyrol were being drawn more and more into the national movement of “Italy for the Italians.” The **Germans** of Austria became impatient and restive under the absolutism which still reigned at Vienna, though they, like the Magyars, were not anxious for an extension of the liberal principles they demanded for themselves to the other races under the sceptre of the Habsburgs.

Revolutions of 1848.

As in 1830, so again in 1848, many people agitated for political revolution or reform because they thought it would improve their social conditions.

“The Parisian artisan, the Italian maker of macaroni, the Austrian and German producers of the beer-mugs of the happy, alike embraced the cause of liberty, alike championed the rights of peoples, because they saw the sunken cheeks of their children prospectively shining with ruddiest health, because they believed implicitly in the close relationship between ‘nationality’ and bread, between representative government and cheese.”

FRANCE, as ever, led the way in revolutionary upheavals. Louis Philippe, opposed, of course, as he was by Bonapartists, Bourbonists, and republicans, was not wise enough to conciliate the parties that could keep him on the throne. Like our George III., he wished to “be King,” and therefore opposed any interference with what he considered his prerogatives.

One group of politicians, led by Thiers, maintained that ministers should be chosen from the dominant party in the Chamber; the other, led by Guizot, believed that the King, though bound by the Constitutional Charter, should be free to select the members of the Executive. The enemies of Louis fanned discontent into flame, and Guizot's refusal to permit a socialistic banquet to take place in Paris led to the first open act of revolt. Guizot resigned, and in despair Louis, when it was too late, turned to Thiers. A few barricades had been raised rather as a jest than with any serious intentions; a few soldiers without orders fired upon the crowd, and the social revolution had begun.

"The Citizen-King abdicated without attempting resistance, and the Orleanist Monarchy, middle-class to the last, left Paris in a four-wheeled cab."

The Socialist party established some sort of provisional government, but it was evident that if France was to be saved from anarchy and bankruptcy it was necessary for the moderate section of the community to exert themselves. The Duke of Wellington, watching events in France, declared: "France needs a Napoleon! I cannot yet see him. . . . Where is he?"

The provisional government took steps for the calling of a National Convention and the election of a President. By an overwhelming majority, France, no doubt inspired by his name rather than his abilities, chose Louis Napoleon (nephew of Napoleon I.), who had emerged from his seclusion in England. Once again a Napoleon was about to rise to imperial power on the chaos of a revolution.

Revolt in Europe.

The upheaval in France was not, as we have seen, the *cause* of the upheavals of 1848 which shook Europe from the Shannon to the Danube. The French revolution merely blazed forth in the midst of the discontented states, and was the signal

for the simultaneous outbreak of revolutionary movements which, though long prepared, might, without such an incentive, have been detached and spasmodic in character.

England felt its effect, but the wise policy of its statesmen in abolishing the Corn Laws and gradually introducing Free Trade took the sting out of the Chartist agitation. In Germany the movement was for a time successful, and even Prussia granted a liberal constitution. It was, however, in Italy and Austria-Hungary that excitement ran highest. The patriotic party of Italy hoped that at last the day of national unity had arrived. The one power which had held them down was fully occupied at home with Slavs and Magyars. Venetia and Lombardy, with the moral support of the whole country and the material support of Sardinia, rose in revolt. But the strength and resources of Austria had been underestimated, and a crushing defeat at Custoza, followed later by another at Novara, deferred but did not destroy the hopes of "Young Italy." A similar disappointment awaited the subject races of Austria-Hungary. At first the Germans at Vienna, Czechs at Prague, Magyars at Buda-Pesth, and Slavs at Agram, seemed to be successful, and Metternich, the great opponent of national freedom, had to flee. The accession to the throne of a boy—the late Emperor, Francis Joseph—left the power of administration in the hands of his ministers. They strengthened the army and called in the aid of Russia, so that here, as in Italy, revolution was stamped out.

On the whole, however, the "year of revolutions" may be regarded as having been successful. In 1815 reaction had triumphed over the principles of the French Revolution, but by 1848 those principles had reasserted themselves and had really triumphed over reaction. The long period of transition was virtually at an end, and out of it arose three great movements which have influenced all subsequent history of Europe—the unification of Italy, the unification of Germany, and the question of the Near East.

RECAPITULATION

The "Final Act" of the Vienna Congress completed the settlement of Europe by granting Alsace-Lorraine to France, uniting Belgium and Holland into a Kingdom of the Netherlands, guaranteeing the neutrality of Switzerland, handing Norway over to Sweden, adding Poland and Finland to Russia, restoring "legitimate" rulers to Italy and sovereign rights to German Princes, and compensating Prussia (for Poland) in Westphalia and Austria (for Netherlands) in Lombardy and Venetia. Britain was confirmed in her possession of Malta, Heligoland, Ceylon, and Cape Colony.

The nineteenth century saw the gradual undoing of the work of the Congress, but for a time the Holy and Quadruple Alliances maintained the *status quo*, though Britain opposed the policy of interference.

The reactionary policy of restored rulers and their successors led to a series of revolutionary waves through Western Europe. In 1820 a revolt broke out in Spain, spreading to Portugal and Naples, and having an indirect effect in America and Greece. In 1830 the French overthrew the Bourbon dynasty, and Belgium, separating from Holland, became an independent kingdom. In Poland and Italy the revolts were crushed by Russia and Austria respectively.

In 1848—"the year of revolutions"—the overthrow of the monarchy in France was the signal for revolts throughout Western Europe—in England for the "Charter," in Germany for liberalism and nationalism, in Austria for the abolition of feudalism and for race independence, in Italy for exclusion of Austrian rule. In spite of apparent defeat, nationality and democracy finally triumphed over reaction and autocracy.

QUESTIONS

1. Upon what principles were the deliberations of the Congress of Vienna based? How did these conflict with the principles of the Revolution? Show how the "Final Act" stood the test of time.

2. Trace the workings of the revolutionary movement in Europe during the half-century following the Vienna Congress. How far were they due to the reactionary character of the Congress, and how far to economic causes?

CHAPTER XII

THE OTTOMANS AND THE INDEPENDENCE OF GREECE

THE long struggle for democracy and nationality in Western Europe (1815-1848) was accompanied in the South-East by a struggle somewhat similar in character, although differing materially in some important particulars. Out of the Western movements developed the gradual *unification* of Italy and of Germany, having a special influence on European history up to 1870. In the Balkan peninsula, on the other hand, the same striving after liberty and nationality led to the *dismemberment* of Turkey. The decay of the Ottoman Empire led, probably, to more unrest and war during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries than any other direct cause. In its geographical aspect it resulted in the shifting of the point of contact between East and West; in its historical aspect it formed part of the European nationality movement; in its political aspect it developed into what, for lack of a better term, has been called the Eastern or Near Eastern "Question."

A RETROSPECT

These various aspects can only be appreciated by passing in review a few of the geographical and historical factors affecting the rise and decline of the Ottoman Empire.

East and West.

We noted in Chapter I. that East met West either on the grasslands between the Urals and the Caspian or in the maritime lands between the Black and Red Seas. Along the

first of these routes horde after horde of horsemen rode along the grassy plains into the meadowlands and forests of the north and north-west. There they became "European," and formed the basis of the modern nations about the northern seas. The second route—viz., that between the Black and Red Seas—greatly exceeded in importance the northern route, because it formed a link and a bridge between the Mediterranean and monsoon lands, where climatic conditions had early led to a high standard of civilisation. It was "the area of



24.—THE MUHAMMADAN CRESCENT.

contact of the bread and olive civilisation of the Ægean with the desert civilisation that touches Phœnicia and the bread and cheese civilisation of the grassland edge." Here, indeed, East met West, the actual point of contact shifting according to the military and naval forces of the disputants. For many centuries the Hellenic states held the gateway to Europe against would-be Asiatic conquerors. Later, the task fell to Rome, whose empire extended almost to the Persian Gulf, and Europe penetrated deeply into Asia.

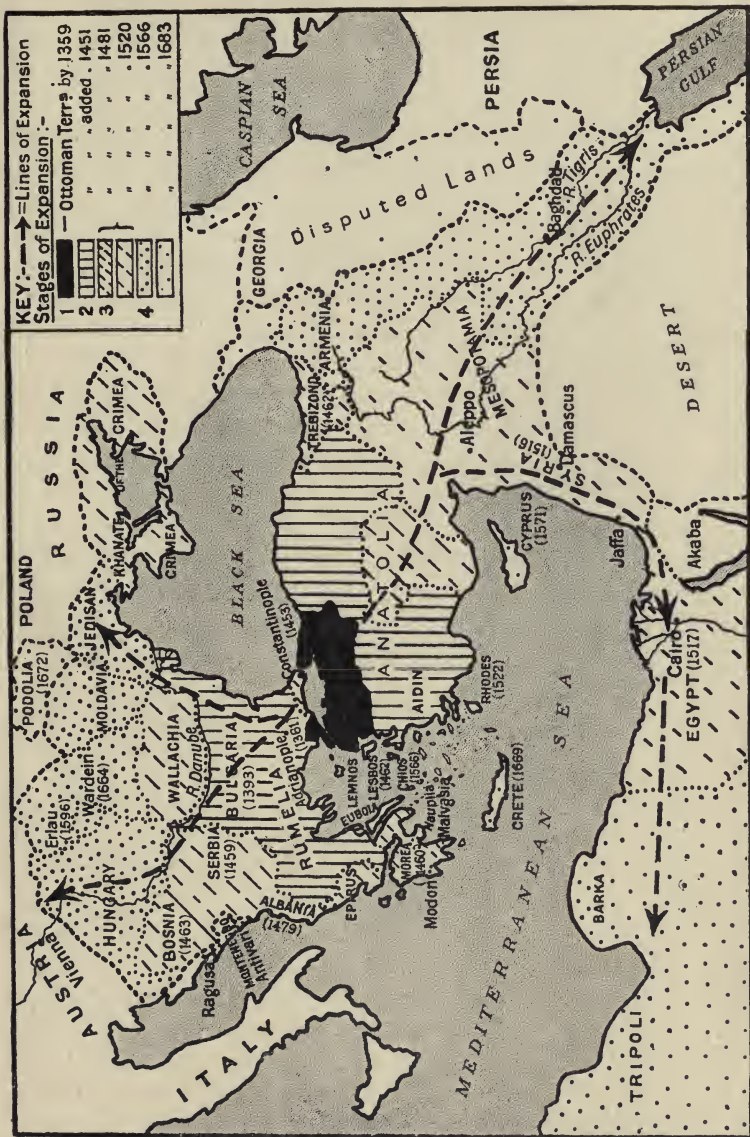
Saracens and Turks.

The first great shock to the power of the Eastern Roman Emperor came in the seventh century, when the followers of Muhammad, inspired with the fanaticism which the Prophet preached, swept from the plateaus of Arabia to slaughter and pillage the cities and plains of Syria, to conquer Mesopotamia and Persia, and to overrun Egypt and North Africa. Within fifty years of Muhammad's death the Saracens—"Children of the Desert"—had advanced to the two great citadels of Europe, Constantinople and Gibraltar.

"The Crescent, lying in a vast semicircle upon the northern shores of Africa and the curving coast of Asia, with one horn touching the Bosphorus and the other the Straits of Gibraltar, seemed about to round to the full and overspread all Europe."

Fortunately for Europe, the Muhammadan armies did not succeed in crossing the eastern and western straits at the same time. In the west Saracens crossed the Straits of Gibraltar, and advanced as far as the Gate of Poitou, where they were hurled back by Charles the Hammer (A.D. 732). The advance in the east was checked by Constantinople for nigh on seven centuries, and was then carried out by Muhammadans very different in character from the Saracens.

When the Saracens conquered the regions of Central Asia, they converted a Tartar race—the Turks—to Islam, and it was these people who completed the work commenced by the Arabs. In the eleventh century the Seljuk Turks swept down from the plateau of Persia to plunder the cities of the plain. Their leader, Togrul Beg, captured Baghdad (1058), and though he allowed the Caliph (Vicar of the Prophet) to retain spiritual power, he himself assumed the temporal power under the title "Vicar of the Faithful." His successors overran Asia Minor, Syria, and Egypt, and it was the capture of the holy places in Palestine by this fierce and intolerant race and their



25.—GROWTH OF THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE.

threatening advance towards Europe by way of the Bosphorus that alarmed all Christian nations and led to the First Crusade.

The success of the Seljuks prepared the way for the next horde of Turks—the Ottomans. They succeeded in establishing a powerful state in Asia Minor, with Brussa as their capital. Like the Seljuks, they were fanatics of a more intolerant type than the Saracens. The latter were highly skilled and highly intellectual, so that Europe in general and Spain in particular gained from their learning. The Turks, on the other hand, considered that all who were not Muhammadans were only fit to be “hewers of wood and drawers of water” for the Faithful, and that their wealthy towns and rich farms could have no better use than to maintain an army of lazy, bigoted, sensual soldiers of the Crescent.

Ottoman Conquests.

From their vantage-ground in Asia Minor they could strike at three important agricultural and commercial areas :

1. Mesopotamia in the south-east.
2. Egypt in the south-west.
3. South-East Europe on the north-west.

Mesopotamia and Egypt depend for their fertility entirely on irrigation works, and these can only be maintained by a good Government solicitous for the welfare of the state. This the rule of the Turk was not. A proverb says, “Grass dies under the Turkish hoof,” and these two regions rapidly passed out of cultivation, remaining derelict until towards the close of the nineteenth century, when Europeans began to take a political and commercial interest in them. On the other hand, the coasts of Asia Minor and the Balkan peninsula beyond were ideal for an “army of occupation,” which wished to live on the spoils without completely ruining the districts, as they succeeded in doing in Mesopotamia and Egypt.

The Ægean islands and shores contained many wealthy trading cities which could pay heavy sums to their overlords, while the small agricultural communities in the valleys of both Asia Minor and the Balkan peninsula could, under compulsion, maintain a "lord of the valley" and his roystering company. Constantinople was too strong to be taken by a direct attack, and consequently the Turks crossed the Black Sea, occupying the northern shores, thence entering South-East Europe by the plains of the Danube. Gradually they overran the whole peninsula, obtained the control of the Dardanelles, and in 1453 succeeded in taking Constantinople, which for some time had stood like an island citadel in the midst of the Turkish flood.

The great bulwark of Europe to the south-east had collapsed, and the victorious hordes of Turks advanced further and further inland until they threatened Vienna itself. The conquest of that city would have given them possession of the funnel-shaped entrance into Central Europe between the Bohemian Forest and the Alps. Fortunately, Vienna stood firm, and the success of Europe in hurling back the Turks from the Gate of Vienna in 1532, and in 1683, when Sobieski, King of Poland, relieved the city, may be compared with the similar success of the Franks against the Saracens at the Gate of Poitou in A.D. 732. The parallel in East and West may be carried still further. In the West the first stage in the driving back of the Moors was to press the Frankish conquests to the Pyrenees, and then just beyond to "the Spanish Mark." The second stage was the gradual recovery of the small Christian states which had taken shelter, one between the Ebro and the Pyrenees, the other in the mountainous districts of the Cantabrians. Gradually the three kingdoms of Portugal, Castile, and Aragon pushed the Saracens to their last stronghold of Granada, and thence across the Straits to Morocco. Finally, in place of the Muhammadan kingdoms there grew up the modern states of Spain and Portugal.

Similarly, in the east the Austrians pressed their conquests

to the Transylvanian Alps, and at the opening of the nineteenth century the boundary of Turkey was roughly the River Save, Transylvanian Alps, and the River Dniester. The second stage, the rise of the Christian races that had been swamped when the flood spread over the peninsula, had already commenced before the end of the eighteenth century, and it was evident even then that the expulsion of the Turk from the Balkan peninsula would lead to many more problems than had arisen in the expulsion of the Moor from Spain.

This was due to the fact that three forces were acting on the Turkish Empire in Europe :

1. The advance of Austria southwards in the direction of Salonika.
2. The advance of Russia along the plains of Wallachia in the direction of Constantinople.
3. The revolts of the subject-races against the oppressive taxation and military rule of the Turk.

We might almost add a fourth movement which, until the Great War of 1914, was friendly rather than hostile to Turkey, but nevertheless resulted in further dismemberment. This was—

4. The advance of the sea Powers of Great Britain and France in the Mediterranean.

First Stage of Ottoman Decline.

In order to understand the principal events in the history of the Balkan peninsula in recent years it is necessary to give the chief events marking the Austrian and Russian advance.

1699. The Treaty of Karlowitz, "the first dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire," excluded the Turks from Hungary and gave Transylvania to Austria.

1736-1739. Austria and Russia united against Turkey, with the result that Russia obtained the Crimea; Austria acquired Bosnia

and Herzegovina, over which the Hungarian Crown possessed old historical rights. In this campaign Austria occupied Wallachia and a large part of what is now Serbia, taking Vidin, Nish, and Uskub.

1774. The Kutchuk-Kainardji Treaty between Russia and Turkey gave Russia Azov and Kertch, thus enabling her to dominate the Black Sea. She also obtained the right to act as guardian to the Greek Christians in Turkey, and "of speaking in favour of the Roumanian principalities"—rights which, as we shall see, she used to the utmost. For her neutrality during the war Austria received from Turkey the Bukovina.

1792. The Treaty of Jassy gave Russia the Dniester as her frontier.

1812. The Treaty of Bukarest enabled Russia to advance from the Dniester to the Pruth.

We now return to the position of affairs in the Balkan peninsula at the opening of the nineteenth century. The Congress of Vienna did not attempt to solve the many problems of South-East Europe, but did endeavour to isolate the area by constituting the Ionian Islands from Corfu to Zante a British protectorate, and placing the coast of Dalmatia as part of Venetia under the sovereignty of Austria. Turkey thus became sandwiched between the two land powers of Austria and Russia on the one hand, and the sea powers of France and Britain on the other. At each upheaval of the peoples under Turkish rule, these powers advanced their interests to the detriment of Turkey. We cannot follow all the intricacies of diplomacy of the nineteenth century, but in this and a subsequent chapter we must be content to fix our attention on three great events in the history of this part of Europe:

1. The independence of Greece.
2. The Crimean War.
3. The Russo-Turkish War and the Treaty of Berlin.

Greek Independence.

The spread of liberal and national ideas which characterised the upheavals of France reached even to the dominions of the Sultan. There the many races—Greeks, Serbs, and Rumanians—desired independence, or at least autonomy, while the majority of the peasants longed for the removal of feudal burdens which still persisted there in an aggravated form. Two agitations are therefore discernible: one the determination of the nobles to be free from the rule of the Turk; the other the desire of the serf to be free from the yoke of his lord. Real success in the struggle for freedom could, of course, only be obtained when nobles and peasants, having settled their differences, could fight side by side for the independence of their state.

The first nation to succeed in the national struggle was Greece. For some years prior to 1821 a "Friendly Society" had agitated for Greek independence throughout South-East Europe. Russia was known to be in sympathy with the agitation, and the first blow was struck at Turkey by a Russian advance across the Pruth. In Greece at first only isolated attacks were made on the Mussulmans, but when the Gibraltar of the Morea, Monemvasia; the Portsmouth, Navarino; and the capital, Tripolitza, were captured in 1821, a National Assembly was called which drew up a constitution for the new Greek republic.

The following year the Sultan ordered a simultaneous attack on the rebellious provinces from east and west. That on the east failed, but the western one succeeded in isolating Missolonghi. It was here that the poet Byron, who had taken up the cause of Greek freedom, died of a fever contracted among the marshy lagoons of the district. Unfortunately, the successes against the Turks were minimised by the civil wars of 1823 and 1824. Greece, by nature, is divided into numerous self-contained areas—peninsulas, islands, and river valleys—

and it was difficult even in times of danger to unite all these varying communities, jealous of their customary rights and proud of their independence.

Mehemet Ali.

While the Greeks were thus divided among themselves, the Sultan called in the aid of his powerful vassal, the Pasha of Egypt. Mehemet Ali and his son Ibrahim landed at Crete, and in 1825 sailed for Modon, south-east of Navarino. The capture of the island in the bay of Navarino and the fortresses which guarded the harbour gave the Egyptians a base from which to ravage the whole of the Morea. In 1826 the Sultan ordered Ibrahim to assist at the siege of Missolonghi. Hitherto the Greek fleet had been able to keep open communications by sea, but the enemy's superior navy now closed that means of provisioning the city. As the conditions of the besieged became almost intolerable, the majority decided to cut their way through the Mussulman lines. There were 9,000 people in the town, and 7,000 men, women, and children prepared to sally forth, while the rest, too old or too ill to leave, shut themselves up in a ruined windmill and in the great magazines where the powder was stored. Treachery betrayed the sortie to the enemy, who were therefore prepared. About 2,000 succeeded in escaping, the remainder being killed or taken prisoners, while on the entrance of Ibrahim's troops into the town those who were left behind fired the powder magazine rather than fall alive into the enemy's hands. Every year a solemn procession of the inhabitants commemorates the heroic sortie. The second siege of Missolonghi has taken its place among the famous sieges of history.

It was obvious that if the Greeks were to succeed they would have to call in the aid of one of the Powers. Some favoured Russia, others Britain. In 1827 Great Britain, France, and Russia agreed to force an armistice on the belligerents preparatory to the discussion of terms of peace.

The Greeks accepted the arrangements, but the Sultan did not, and his troops in the Morea continued to devastate and pillage. Partly to prevent this and partly to enforce the wishes of the Powers, the fleets of France and Britain took the precaution of enclosing the Egyptian fleet in the harbour of **Navarino**. Admiral Codrington issued his command that no cannon should be fired unless the Turks began the attack. The Mussulmans, thinking an engagement inevitable, opened fire on one of the boats sent to parley. The action then became general, and by morning only twenty-nine out of eighty-two vessels comprising the Turkish and Egyptian fleets remained afloat.

Treaty of Adrianople.

The blow proved most disastrous to the Turkish cause, for not only did French troops land in the Morea, but Russia declared war and, supported by her fleet on the Black Sea, marched through the Wallachian plain. With surprising rapidity the Russians were at Adrianople, and Turkey, fearing for the safety of Constantinople, offered to negotiate terms of peace. The Treaty of Adrianople, 1829, stipulated that—

1. Russia should restore her conquests except the “Great Islands” of the Danube, Georgia, and the other provinces of the Caucasus.

2. All neutral vessels should have the right of free navigation on the Danube, the Black Sea, the Bosphorus, and the Dardanelles.

3. Russian traders in Turkey should be under the jurisdiction of their own Consuls.

4. Turkey should pay a war indemnity (afterwards reduced) and Russia should occupy the two principalities and the fortress of Silistria until the indemnity be paid.

5. The principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia should be granted autonomy, but their Princes to be invested by the Sultan and an annual tribute rendered.

Such a treaty increased enormously the power and prestige of Russia in the Balkans, so much so that, while British states-

men compelled the Sultan to agree to an independent Greece, they purposely excluded certain lands inhabited by Greeks rather than weaken Turkey too much. The exclusion of such areas, however, as Epirus and Thessaly on the mainland, Samos and Crete in the Ægean, only left cause for the struggles of 1885, 1897, and 1912. Austria had been too much engrossed in suppressing revolts in Italy to share in the general advance; nevertheless, the autonomy which the Sultan granted to Serbia in 1830 may be taken as an indication that Germanic interests were not being neglected.

The choice of a sovereign for the new kingdom of Greece concerns us little. Prince Leopold of Saxe-Coburg, to whom it was first offered, refused it, after being frightened by the depressing accounts of the situation given by Capo d'Istria, who, as virtual director of the state, would lose his position on the accession of a sovereign. Prince Leopold became instead the King of Belgium after the revolution of 1830. The crown, after the assassination of Capo d'Istria, was finally accepted in 1832 by Prince Otho, the second son of the King of Bavaria. The boundaries of the kingdom were slightly enlarged, the northern frontier extending from the Gulf of Volo on the east to Arta on the west, but the Greek islands of Samos and Crete were excluded.

It was not only in his European territories that the Sultan lost land and prestige, for in 1830 Algiers, which still acknowledged a nominal suzerainty, was conquered by France, who thereby gained a footing in North Africa, leading to great results in the immediate future. In the following year, too, Mehemet Ali, who had reorganised his army and navy under French officers, thought the time ripe to declare his independence. He overran the whole of Syria, capturing Jaffa, Jerusalem, and Damascus. He even entered Asia Minor and threatened Constantinople. The Sultan appealed for aid to Britain and France. The former was too busy with the new kingdom of Belgium, the latter too well satisfied with the

success of her training. In despair Mahmud II. turned to his former foe, Russia, who eagerly seized the opportunity thus offered. Peace was arranged by which Syria virtually became part of Egypt, but what struck Britain and France with consternation was an agreement between Russia and Turkey by which Russian arms should be at the disposal of the Sultan, while the latter would close the Dardanelles if any power should attack Russia.

Conclusion.

In 1839 Mahmud II. died. If ever Sultan endeavoured to make improvements in the lands over which he ruled, it was Mahmud II., but all his endeavours could not stay that progress of disintegration and decay which in 1919 threatened the withdrawal of Turkish rule from Europe. Mahmud's death serves to mark a stage in the process of dismemberment, and we cannot do better than close this chapter with a summary of the happenings during the reign of perhaps the best-disposed Sultan that has reigned at Constantinople. These were—

1. The independence of Greece.
2. The autonomy of Serbia.
3. The loss of Algiers.
4. Revolts in Bosnia, Albania, and Egypt.
5. The advance of Russia to the Pruth and her virtual protectorate of the autonomous principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia.
6. The virtual protectorate of Russia over Turkey herself.

RECAPITULATION

The democratic and national movement of Western Europe had a counterpart in the race problems of the Balkan peninsula which led to the break-up of Turkey. The decay of Turkey, in its geographical aspect, was a shifting of the point of contact between East and West; in its historical aspect a part of the European nationality movement; in its political aspect the Eastern Question.

From their central position in Asia Minor the Ottomans had extended their conquests (1) to the Persian Gulf, (2) to North Africa, (3) to Vienna. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries they were gradually pushed back to the line of the River Save, Transylvanian Alps, and River Dniester by the Austrians and Russians. At the opening of the nineteenth century the nationality movement commenced with the War of Greek Independence. During the first period (1821-1822) the Greeks were successful, capturing the chief strongholds; the second period (1823-1826) opened with civil war, enabling the Sultan, with the aid of Mehmed Ali, almost to crush the rebellion; the third period (1827-1829) is marked by the intervention of Russia, Britain, and France, resulting in the Treaty of Adrianople and the independence of Greece.

By the close of the reign of Mahmud II. (1839) Turkey had lost considerably in territory, military power, and prestige.

QUESTIONS

1. Compare in its broad outlines the advance and retreat of the Turks in the East with the similar movements of the Saracens in the West. State in some detail the importance of the control of (i.) the Mediterranean Sea, (ii.) the Poitou Gate, (iii.) the Vienna Gate.

2. The Turkish conquests severed the North African and Syrian lands from Europe and closed the south-east gateway to Asia. Write an essay on this aspect of the conquests as they affected political, economic, and racial conditions in Europe.

CHAPTER XIII

THE UNIFICATION OF ITALY

(*Period: 1815-1870*)

THE Unification of Italy is one of the great historical movements of the nineteenth century. On the map the peninsula, extending like a leg into the Mediterranean and shut off from the remainder of Europe by the Alpine wall, seems designed by Nature to be the home of one people. Yet, between the fall of Imperial Rome by the barbarians in the fifth century and the patriotic struggles for unity in the nineteenth century, Italy was but "a geographical expression," the name of a mere physical feature without any real political significance.

Three Disuniting Forces

The reason for this disintegration and disunion is to be found in the fact that within the larger geographical unit there are a number of smaller units. These were prevented from welding together as had happened in England, France, and Spain, because one internal and two powerful external forces tended to keep them apart. The northern area has always felt the "pull" of the Continent through such passes of the Alps as the Schön, the Brenner, and the St. Bernard. Throughout the Middle Ages, therefore, North Italy either formed part of the Holy Roman Empire, or, when separated, became a patchwork of states in which Austria and France sought to establish themselves.

The central area, extending from Rome up the Tiber valley to the Adriatic Sea, formed the States of the Church, ruled by the Pope. His policy was to play off north against south, and

maintain his power and prestige by a disunited Italy. The south, however, shut off from the north by the broad ridge of the Apennines, retained for a considerable period its connection with the Eastern Empire and its capital Constantinople. When at last it fell, it was conquered, not by the land foes of the north, but by the sea foes of the Mediterranean—Saracens, Normans, and whoever for the time being held maritime supremacy. Naturally, conquerors of this character established a much more powerful rule in the south than appeared in the north, and practically all Italy south of Rome, together with Sicily, formed throughout the Middle Ages the kingdom of the Two Sicilies, and was ruled for a long period by members of the Spanish or French royal houses. Thus, for fifteen centuries north and south were separated from each other, the former being itself subdivided into many and varied states. Yet from these disunited states, differing from each other in history, race, civilisation, and sentiments, has been welded, under the guidance of Sardinia, the modern state of Italy.

“Napoleon I. clearly foresaw the destiny in store for Italy. ‘Italy,’ he wrote, ‘is one sole nation; the unity of customs, of language and literature, will in some future, more or less remote, unite all its inhabitants under one Government. . . . Rome is the capital which, some day, the Italians will select.’ He not only foresaw it; he did much to achieve it. He created an Italian kingdom; he trampled under foot the prejudices and jealousies of the smaller states; he built bridges and made roads; he unified the law and the administration; he taught the Italians to fight.”

The lesson of unity which Napoleon taught by establishing larger political divisions was never forgotten, in spite of the reactionary policy of the Congress of Vienna and the oppressive interference in local disturbances by Austria. “Italy for the Italians” became a rallying cry for the intelligent middle classes and the numerous patriotic societies, of which in the early days of the struggle for nationality the chief was the “Carbonari,” or “Society of Charcoal Burners.”

Mazzini and the Revolts of 1830.

We have seen already how the almost successful revolt of Naples in 1820 against the restored reactionist ruler was crushed by Metternich and the Austrian army. The defeat of Naples, however, only served to rouse the patriotic spirit in states other than the two Sicilies. Of the many men who came forward as leaders of the movement one stands out above all others on account of his idealism and his self-disinterestedness. Mazzini desired a united Italy which should hold up the banner of purity and liberty to the world. "A happy Italy was his ideal; a politically united Italy the means by which he sought to attain it." All thinking patriots saw that political health and prosperity depended on unity, but there was great divergence of opinion as to its possibility and the form that unity should take. There were those who pointed out that unity was impossible until Turkey had been completely broken up and Austria compensated there for her necessary losses in Italy. Others advocated the formation of three large states corresponding with the spheres of influence of Sardinia, the Papacy, and Naples, these three to form a triple alliance. Others, again, regarded it as unjust to destroy the small states set up in 1815, suggesting that Italian unity should take the form of a federation with the Pope as head.

The consequence of this difference of opinion was that when in 1830 the news of the overthrow of Charles X. of France reached Italy, open rebellion broke out, but no concerted action was arranged. Modena, Parma, and Bologna overthrew their governments, but Tuscany and the two Sicilies remained quiet, while the revolt in Piedmont was easily crushed by its King. Once again, as in 1820, Austrian intervention restored order, but the revolts had advanced the cause of liberty. They showed that unity of action was necessary and a definite policy essential. Mazzini, exiled on account of the part he had taken, endeavoured to supply these. He inaugurated a society of

enthusiasts known as the Association of Young Italy, whose aims were—

1. To expel all Austrians from the country.
2. To liberate and unify Italy.
3. To establish that form of government which should be approved by the people.

Thus arose a party with a definite programme to foster the national spirit. For eighteen years the work of this and several other societies prepared for the momentous year 1848—"the year of revolutions."

The spirit of revolt which overthrew Louis Philippe and established the Second Republic of France spread to Italy, where at Palermo, Naples, Tuscany, the Papal States, and Piedmont, rebellions broke out and demands were put forward for constitutional forms of government. Only in the Austrian territories of Lombardy and Venetia did absolutism hold its own. Even there, too, when news was received of similar rebellions in Austria-Hungary, resulting in the fall of Metternich, did the people revolt, supported by Sardinia, whose king formally declared war on Austria.

Austrian Suppression.

While Magyars and Slavs were able to cause a diversion at home, the Austrians suffered defeat in Italy, but when, with the aid of Russia, revolt was stamped out in Hungary and Bohemia, Austrian troops completely defeated the Sardinians and the rebels of Lombardy and Venetia at Custozzo (1848) and Novara (1849). Victor Emmanuel, who succeeded to the Sardinian throne on the abdication of his father, made a humiliating peace. Austria established order at Milan and Venice, and restored the expelled princes to Tuscany, Modena, and Parma. Even at Rome, where the Pope had been deposed and a republic established under the guidance and influence of Garibaldi and Mazzini, the fruits of victory were snatched

away and the Pope was restored by the arms of France. Apparently the struggle for unity had failed, actually the cause had been strengthened, for to the patriotism of such men as Garibaldi and Mazzini there was now added the statecraft



27.—THE UNIFICATION OF ITALY (NINETEENTH AND TWENTIETH CENTURIES).

NOTE.—Italy makes further claims in Dalmatia.

of Victor Emmanuel and his minister Cavour. These men realised that until the cause of Italy could be pleaded in the councils of Europe the aspirations of Italians would appear but the revolutionary aims of discontented states.

Cavour and the Crimean War.

The opportunity for which Cavour waited came with the Crimean War. As we shall see in a later chapter, in that war Britain and France supported Turkey against Russia. The attitude of Austria favoured the policy determined upon by the Sardinian minister. The Emperor Francis Joseph, while in sympathy with the objects of Britain and France, maintained a neutrality, probably on account of the state of unrest in his possessions both at home and abroad. Austrian troops, however, occupied Moldavia and Wallachia on the withdrawal of the Russians, an action which angered the Czar, while the Austrian policy of inaction offended both Britain and France. Thus Austria effectively isolated herself from both friend and foe, and gave Cavour the opportunity he desired. He determined to render military aid to the allies at a critical period of the war, and accordingly Victor Emmanuel, on the advice of his minister, sent a body of 15,000 Piedmontese to assist the Allies in the Crimea. The result was that at the termination of the war, when the congress of delegates met at Paris to discuss terms of peace, Count Cavour, representing Sardinia, met on equal terms with the representatives of other states. For the first time the cause of Italian unity was ably discussed in the Councils of Europe, Britain and France especially taking a friendly view of the whole matter. The Emperor of the French, Louis Napoleon, whose pet schemes were to aid the Church and such small states as were struggling for existence, went so far as to form an alliance with Sardinia for the recovery of Lombardy and Venetia from Austria, should that power at any time attack Sardinia.

War with Austria.

This necessary condition was fulfilled in 1859, when Austria declared war on Sardinia on account of the military preparations being carried out by that state. True to his

promise, Napoleon in person led his troops to the assistance of the Sardinians. A victory at Magenta gave Milan to the Allies, and another at Solferino freed Lombardy. It would then appear that Napoleon feared the creation of a powerful Italy as a menace to France. Consequently he met the Emperor Francis Joseph at Villafranca and there arranged terms of peace without consulting his ally. Austria retained Venetia, but ceded Lombardy, except the fortresses of Mantua and Peschiera, to France, on the understanding that it should be transferred to Sardinia. The treaty also provided that the rulers of Tuscany and Modena should be restored, and the two Powers favoured a federation of Italy under the leadership of the Pope.

Sardinia perforce agreed to these arrangements, ceding to France as the price of her aid the important strategic areas of Savoy and Nice. Fortunately for Italy, no attempt was made by either Austria or France to enforce the restoration of the expelled rulers, and by a plebiscite Tuscany and Modena elected to be united with Sardinia. Thus in 1861, in spite of many disappointments, Victor Emmanuel opened a parliament at Turin which represented almost the whole of Northern Italy, and he himself was proclaimed King of Italy.

Garibaldi.

Meanwhile Garibaldi and his "Thousand Red Shirts" sailed from Genoa, escorted by British ships, to liberate the kingdom of Naples. He landed in Sicily. A few weeks sufficed to conquer the island, since everywhere people welcomed him. He then crossed to Naples, whence the King fled on hearing of his coming. Here, as in the Northern states, a plebiscite decided on a union with Sardinia, so that there remained only the Papal States and Venetia to complete the unification.

Garibaldi now determined on the conquest of Rome. In this he was opposed both by Napoleon and Cavour, the

former because he regarded himself as the special champion of the Church, the latter because he preferred a conquest of such great importance to be carried out by an Italian army rather than by the followers of a free-lance. Accordingly, Italian troops invaded the Romagna in 1860, and, by defeating the French at Castel Fidardo, occupied that part of the Papal States to the east of the Apennines.

The death of Cavour in 1861 endangered for a time the work of unification under the leadership of Sardinia by removing the one check upon the republicanism of Mazzini and the daring of Garibaldi. Fortunately, the two aims which he had ever kept before him were those also of his master—viz., to maintain a liberal policy at home, in order that other states should look to Sardinia for the attainment of their constitution, and to seek such an alliance abroad against Austria as would enable “unredeemed” Italy to be annexed.

Italy and the Prussian-Austrian War.

As we shall see in the next chapter, the struggle for German unity under Prussia led to hostility between that state and Austria. To their mutual advantage, Prussia and Sardinia formed an alliance both of a defensive and offensive character. In 1866 war broke out between Prussia and Austria, and, true to her agreement, Italy, under the leadership of Victor Emmanuel, attacked Venetia. Her forces, however, were hurled back at Custoza, and the invasion was checked. The victories of Austria in Italy, however, were of little value, since the Prussians, victorious at Sadowa, were ready to march on Vienna. She therefore asked Napoleon to mediate between Italy and herself on the condition of the cession of Venetia, retaining, however, the *strategic* parts of the Trentino and the important ports and coast defences of Trieste and Dalmatia—the “unredeemed Italy” to gain which Italy in 1915 joined the Allies in the war against Austria and later against Germany. The Prussian-Austrian War, therefore, added one

more province to the rapidly-growing state. There were, however, two causes of disappointment—one that the strategic frontiers in the north-west and the north-east were held by France and Austria respectively; the other that Rome, the historic capital, and the one which sentiment regarded as essential, was still held by the Pope, guarded in the last of his temporal possessions by French troops.

Italy and the Franco-Prussian War.

In 1870 war broke out between Prussia and France, which necessitated the withdrawal of French troops from Rome. The opportunity was eagerly seized by such patriots as Garibaldi. Victor Emmanuel entered the city as King of United Italy, and the Pope retired to a voluntary imprisonment in the Vatican, where he maintained the semblance of temporal power, having a guard of Swiss soldiers and receiving with all the honour and ceremony of a modern state the ambassadors of most of the countries of Europe. The Papacy has neither forgotten nor forgiven the blow to its temporal power given in the fateful year 1870, a fact which has spread discontent throughout Italy and made a cleavage between the clerical party and the party of state. At last the prophecy of Napoleon uttered from his lonely prison in Mid-Atlantic had come true. The new kingdom had arisen, with Rome, "the eternal city," its capital and Victor Emmanuel of Sardinia as its first king.

New and United Italy.

That the whole movement had been popular was evidenced by the fact that in the majority of cases the annexation was the result of a plebiscite, but the unity raised many new problems and many weaknesses could be readily discerned. As we have said, the last act alienated the Church, and in a country where Catholicism is a power, this has proved detrimental to the state and its ministers. Then, again, while north and south welcomed union with Sardinia, the incom-

patibility of the peoples has prevented a real union of north and south with each other. Furthermore, Italy as a modern power has many more problems than the former petty states which occupied the peninsula. A powerful army and navy had to be created, and this necessitated heavy "taxation" on a country almost entirely agricultural, with a population emigrating in increasing numbers to find a living in the towns of Europe and America or on the pastoral and agricultural farms of Argentina. Sentiment and strategy alike made the recovery of Savoy and Nice, the Trentino, Trieste, and Dalmatia, a national aspiration, while the desire to take her proper place among the states of Europe led Italy to formulate a definite Mediterranean policy based on the decline of Turkey. Her position and her policy placed her midway between Austria and Germany on the one hand, Britain and France on the other. The steady increase of power and prestige of the latter states in North Africa, Syria, and the Balkan peninsula, led Italy to believe her better policy was to unite with Austria, her former enemy, and with Germany, Austria's ally (after 1870), and to take precautions that any forward policy of Pan-Germanism in the Balkans should bring compensation to Italy. Accordingly in 1882 the "unnatural" Triple Alliance of Germany, Austria, and Italy was formed, and remained in force till 1915, when the latter state, failing to obtain satisfactory concessions from the Central Powers, repudiated the alliance and joined the Triple Entente.

RECAPITULATION

Throughout the Middle Ages Italy was merely "a geographical expression," though Nature would seem to have marked off the country by natural boundaries to be the home of one nation. Throughout this period the geographical and political subdivisions were grouped generally into a northern area, connected with Germany and the northern powers; and a southern area, semi-independent,

but latterly under the influence of Spain. The northern and southern areas were separated by the States of the Church.

The conquests and settlement of Italy by Napoleon I. paved the way for unification, and though the revolts of 1830 were crushed by Austria, the spirit of nationalism was kept alive by such men as Mazzini and the members of the young Italy party. The revolts of 1848, though backed by Sardinian troops, were likewise suppressed by the defeat of the nationalist troops at Custozza and Novara.

The success of Count Cavour at the congress at Paris gave promise of better success by enlisting the support of France. The success against Austria at Magenta led to the acquisition of Lombardy and the annexation, as the result of a plebiscite, of Modena and Tuscany.

Meanwhile, the successes of Garibaldi in the south effected the incorporation of Sicily and Naples, thus bringing about a united Italy, with the exception of Venetia and Rome. The former was acquired as the result of the Prussian-Austrian War, and the latter of the Franco-Prussian War.

The chief internal problems which faced the new Italy were and, to some extent, are how to effect a real union of north and south and the reconciliation of Church and State.

QUESTIONS

1. What factors, geographical and historical, have (a) retarded, (b) assisted, the development of Italian unity?
2. What part was played in the struggle for Italian unity by Mazzini, Cavour, Victor Emmanuel II., Garibaldi, Napoleon III.?
3. Write an essay on "The National Movement in Italy."

CHAPTER XIV

THE CENTRAL POWERS

(*Period: 1815-1871*)

THE nationalist and democratic movement which culminated in Italy in the rise of a new, united state was accompanied by similar movements in Central Europe. These movements resulted in the formation of the German Empire, comprising the greater number of the Germanic states, under the leadership of Prussia, and the dual monarchy of Austria-Hungary, under the joint control of the Austrians (Germans) and Magyars.

Central Europe, unlike Italy, had throughout the Middle Ages the semblance of unity in the Holy Roman Empire. This unity became less and less real, until the title of Emperor carried no effective power. Nevertheless, it expressed a consolidation of German peoples not without influence on the ambitions of the Central Powers during the early years of the twentieth century.

In Germany, as in Italy, Napoleon I. taught unity by spreading the liberalism and nationalism of the French Revolution, and by abolishing the many small secular and ecclesiastical states, establishing in their place larger political divisions such as the new kingdoms of Bavaria, Würtemberg, Saxony, and Westphalia. From four hundred he reduced the number of states to about forty. The process of reconstruction contemplated by Napoleon carried with it the destruction of the prestige of Austria and the humiliation of Prussia. These

two objects were accomplished in 1806. In that year the Holy Roman Empire formally passed away when the Emperor renounced his title, and Prussia suffered a crushing blow on the field of Jena. Later events proved, however, that what threatened to destroy German unity altogether ultimately brought about a powerful federation under the leadership of Prussia. The reforms introduced into this state by patriotic Germans of the type of Stein, Hardenberg, Humboldt, Scharnhorst, and Gneisenau, turned the eyes of ardent reformers in Germany towards Prussia, as in Italy they had been turned toward Sardinia. Furthermore, success in the Wars of Liberation (1813-1815) revived the military prestige of Prussia, which had been somewhat shattered at Jena, and paved the way for the unity of Germany by the "blood and iron" policy of Bismarck.

Congress of Vienna.

The Congress of Vienna, in Germany as elsewhere, attempted to undo the work of Napoleon and restore the *status quo*. It did not, however, re-establish the Holy Roman Empire, nor did it destroy the chief political arrangements of Napoleon. The states retained their sovereign rights, a merely nominal unity being created by a Confederation (the Bund) under the leadership of Austria; in reality, the Treaties of Vienna worked for unity under the leadership of Prussia. The loss of Poland and the gain of Westphalia deprived Prussia of Slavonic subjects and gave her Germans, while the loss of certain possessions in South-West Germany and the gain of Lombardy and Venetia deprived Austria of Germans and gave her Italians. Thus, even in 1815 *reforming* Prussia became more German and *reactionary* Austria less German than previously. For some time the great ability of Metternich and the resources of Austria ensured the success even in Germany of the policy of reaction and opposition to nationalism and unity. "By the help of God," said the Austrian minister, "I hope to defeat the

German Revolution just as I vanquished the conqueror of the world."

The Zollverein.

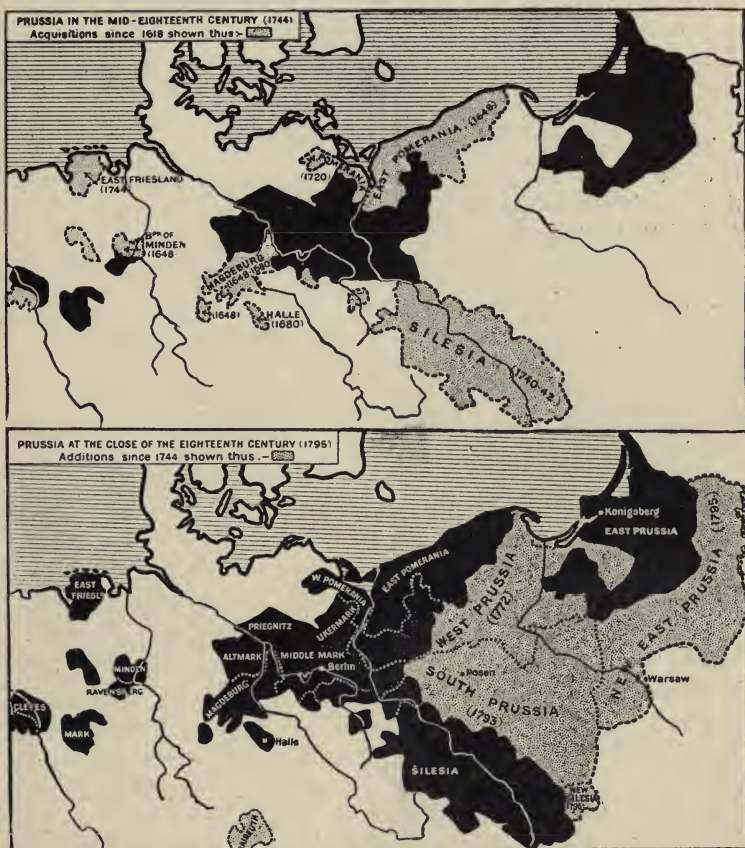
The brilliant statesmen who guided the destinies of Prussia relied on other methods besides those of war to raise the state into prominence. In 1818 the commercial barriers which pre-



28.—STAGES IN THE

vented goods entering freely from neighbouring states were abolished, and Prussia declared for Free Trade. One by one other states, realising both the benefits and the necessity, did

the same, until by 1836 almost all the Germanic states, except Austria, had formed a commercial union, or Zollverein, in which



GROWTH OF PRUSSIA.

the leadership of Prussia was definitely acknowledged. The Zollverein, in that it affected trade and influenced the construction of railways, roads, canals, etc., was a much more

powerful union than the Confederation, and really paved the way for the political union which followed.

“Race, religion, language, whatever their binding power, would not alone suffice to keep a nation together, or to bind it together if disunited. It was the happy idea of the Zollverein (Customs union) that made the unity of Germany under Prussian leadership inevitable. It was Piedmont’s tariff war with Austria that ultimately helped to unite Italy under the House of Savoy. And, conversely, it was the conflict of material interests that led to the revolt from Spain of her American colonies, and to the War of Secession in the United States.”*

Revolutions of 1830 and 1848.

The revolutions of 1830 made little impression in Germany, except in a few of the smaller states where the rulers were predisposed to grant constitutions. The year 1848, however, saw almost every state in Europe in revolt over constitutional matters. Throughout the whole of Germany and the Austrian territories parliamentary representation and other national reforms were demanded.

In Germany, as in Italy, there was a strong desire among scholars and the intelligent middle classes generally for national unity, either in the form of a republic or a kingdom. Even prior to 1848 representatives of the states in the Zollverein had arranged for the calling of a Constitutional Assembly elected on the basis of universal suffrage. This National Assembly met in 1848, and proceeded to discuss a constitution for the united Germany they contemplated. At the outset difficulties beset their path. Should the new state be limited solely to those territories of which the population was German, or should it include non-German states belonging to German sovereigns, as Hungary, Bohemia, and Posen? “Little Germans” wished to exclude all non-German areas, placing the whole of Germany under the rule of a hereditary

* *Modern Europe*, by A. Phillips, p. 6.

Emperor. The "Great Germans" desired a Confederation of the Germanic states and dependencies under a Directory of seven Princes.

In the end the Little Germans won, and a constitution was drawn up accordingly. All seemed to be working smoothly—



29a.—THE GERMAN CONFEDERATION OF 1815.

on paper. When, however, the representatives of the people offered the imperial crown to Frederick William IV. of Prussia, he refused it, partly, it was thought, because he feared Austria, and partly because, believing in the importance of the army and divine right of kings, he opposed democracy as contrary

to both. Perhaps the real case was better stated by Bismarck, who said that Prussia was not to be "dissolved in Germany," but "Our task is the establishment or initiation of German national unity under the leadership of Prussia." Germany was to be Prussianised, not Prussia Germanised.

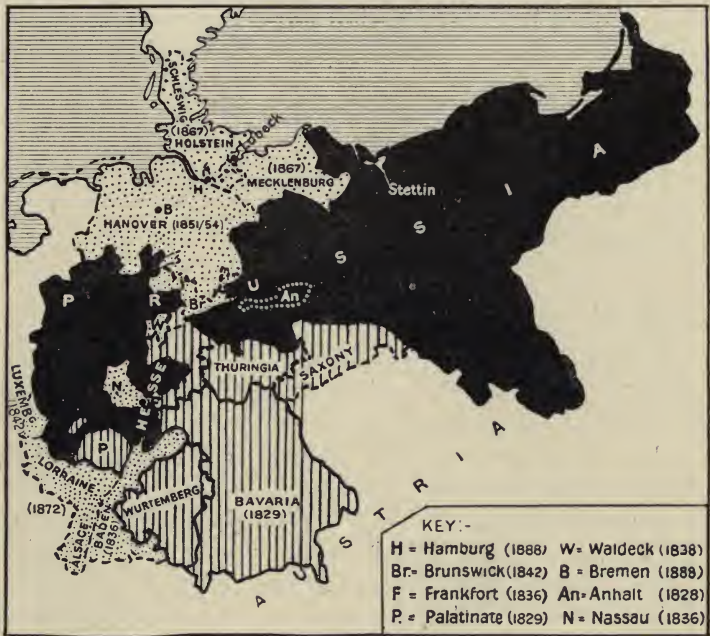
Schleswig-Holstein.

An incident at this period showed how helpless was national aspiration when unsupported by the army of some power. The province of Holstein had formed part of the Germanic Empire, and wished to form part of the new Germanic body. Schleswig, closely connected with Holstein, favoured the same policy. Though not really part of Denmark, these two provinces were under the Danish King, who wished to incorporate them definitely into his kingdom, a policy against which the people of Schleswig-Holstein naturally rebelled. Frederick William was asked to assist the people of Schleswig-Holstein in their desire for union with Germany. This he did at first, but, finding a treaty with Denmark served his purpose better, he agreed to the Truce of Malmo, by which the two provinces should remain under Danish government assisted by Prussia. The Frankfort Parliament was indignant, but helpless. Indeed, the King of Prussia to whom in the early years patriots had looked as a guide towards reform and liberalism, gradually drifted more and more towards reaction. He dissolved the Prussian Assembly, overriding the newly granted constitution, and relied on his army for the carrying out of his political schemes. The one aim of Prussia was to unite her Eastern with her newly acquired Western (Rhenish) provinces, and a close alliance was formed with Saxony and Hanover for this purpose.

Olmütz—and After.

The success of Prussia in the Zollverein, her action with Denmark, and her supremacy north of the Main, roused

Austria to interfere. At a meeting at Olmütz she showed Prussia the "mailed fist," and forbade her to continue a policy which undermined the prestige of Austria. The Germanic Confederation was restored and the authority of Austria re-established. As after Jena Prussia reorganised her resources



The Prussian Zollverein in 1828 ■, added in 1834 ▤, added after 1834 ░
 E. Bavaria, Wurtemberg and the Palatinate formed the South German Zollverein previous to 1828.

296.—THE GERMAN ZOLLVEREIN.

on a national basis, so after Olmütz a military reorganisation prepared to break down Austrian arrogance. Universal conscription was enforced and political liberty restricted. When the Lower House of Parliament claimed its right, and its right alone, to grant the necessary supplies, the King fell back upon

the theory of his divine right and his powers as "war lord." Bismarck raised revenue by means of the King's prerogative, the acquiescence of the Upper House, and by "managing" the elections so that only supporters of the government were returned to the Lower House.

A terrible military machine was thus prepared by Bismarck and his military advisers, Von Roon and Moltke. How different the process of unity here from that based on the national and patriotic aspirations of the people of Italy! The one great barrier to Prussian ambition was Austria, who for sentimental and historical reasons was still regarded as head of the Germanic states. This sentimental bond Bismarck determined to break, and in its place forge one of "blood and iron" with Prussia.

The Danish War, 1864.

In 1863 the King of Denmark died. Two claimants came forward for the duchies of Schleswig-Holstein, one of whom was the newly elected King of Denmark, Christian IX. The people of Germany and the majority of their rulers, including the Emperor of Austria, favoured the rival of Christian. Prussia, as a matter of policy, supported the candidature of Christian, and succeeded in inducing Austria somewhat reluctantly to take the same view. Bismarck saw that by preventing Schleswig-Holstein passing to a separate and distinct house of rulers, he might ultimately incorporate them with Prussia. The two powers jointly demanded of the King of Denmark that autonomy should be granted to the provinces. His refusal led to their occupation by the troops of Prussia and Austria. The Allies, however, were by no means in agreement as to the form the government should take or the course of action they should adopt. It appeared as though the two conquerors would quarrel over the spoils and turn their swords upon each other. The dispute was settled for a time by a

Convention signed in 1865, which granted Schleswig to Prussia and Holstein to Austria.

The Seven Weeks' War, 1866.

Meanwhile Bismarck worked steadily towards his objectives—the isolation of Austria and the strengthening of Prussia. By diplomacy he succeeded in establishing friendly relations with both France and Russia and an alliance with Italy, desirous of wresting Venetia from Austria. The internal conditions of Austria-Hungary, too, were no less favourable to the cause of Prussia, for the problems of race were at that time extremely acute. By 1866 Bismarck had completed his plans, and the time seemed opportune to strike. A cause for war could be found in the duchies which the two powers had so recently acquired. Prussian policy had been to annex her province completely, and to this Austria raised objections. Here, as elsewhere, she opposed all movements which tended towards unity, especially in the north, where Prussia was supreme. Indeed, she openly supported an agitation, which found favour also in other Germanic states, for the reunion of Schleswig and Holstein under the former unsuccessful candidate.

Under the skilful guidance of Bismarck, the conflicting policies of the two powers led to open hostility between them. Hanover and the South German states ranged themselves on the side of Austria, but all were to learn what German thoroughness and preparedness could do when the moment to strike came. The opposition of the Northern states ended with the capitulation of the Hanoverian army. In the South the Prussians, with very little loss, defeated the Bavarians and took Frankfort, while they conquered Saxony without striking a blow. The road now lay open to attack Austria itself, and two armies pushed forward, one along the Elbe, the other along the Oder. The Austrians gradually fell back towards Königgrätz, in order to defend Vienna from invasion through

the Moravian Gap. The combined manœuvring of the Prussian armies forced a battle at Sadowa, where their new needle-guns completely demoralised the enemy. Austria was hopelessly defeated, and agreed to negotiate terms of peace.

Bismarck now showed his real policy. He had no desire to humiliate Austria and make her an irreconcilable foe. He saw that Louis Napoleon was more to be feared than Francis Joseph, and realised that some day an alliance with Austria might be a distinct advantage. The victory of Sadowa ensured to Prussia the lead among the Germanic states, especially those of the North. It only remained to arrange the terms of peace to assure this position, but not unduly humiliate Austria. In the Peace of Prague no indemnity and no surrender of territory were demanded except that Venetia should be ceded to Italy, and even here Austria retained the strategic points of the frontier. She had to agree, however, to withdraw entirely from Germany, to assent to the Prussian annexation of Schleswig-Holstein, Hanover, Hesse-Cassel, Nassau, and Frankfurt, and to consent to the formation of a North German Confederation of Saxony and the states north of the Main. Bismarck's policy of "blood and iron" had done something towards unity.

Austria-Hungary.

Incidentally, the battle of Sadowa not only marked an important step in the unification of Germany and of Italy: it caused indirectly the establishment of the "Dual" Monarchy. In the previous revolts of Hungary led by Kossuth, the demands had been for political independence; but in the years following 1848 Deák and others put forward the policy of "dualism"—*i.e.*, that Austria and Hungary should share the sovereignty of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, and at the same time each should enjoy complete independence in local matters. Germans and Magyars should assist and mutually aid each other and keep other peoples in bondage. Deák was as much

opposed to granting concessions to Czechs and Croats as the Austrian statesmen themselves. There might be a parliament at Vienna and another at Buda-Pesth, but there certainly ought not to be one at Prague and decidedly not one at Agram.



29c.—THE NORTH GERMAN CONFEDERATION OF 1866.

From this time, therefore, the hostility of Slavs, Poles, Czechs, Italians, and other races of this heterogeneous empire against the Magyars has been as great as, if not greater than, their hostility to the Germans themselves.

South German Confederation.

In Germany, the danger to which Bismarck now turned his attention was the position of Bavaria, Würtemberg, Baden, and Hesse-Darmstadt. These were still attached to Austria by religion and sentiment. Would they form a Southern Confederation under Austria as the North had done under Prussia? Louis Napoleon favoured such a policy, for the weakness of Germany was the strength of France. The Emperor of the French had remained neutral during the Seven Weeks' War, and now he demanded some compensation either in Belgium or in Luxemburg. The King of Holland was prepared to hand over his rights to Luxemburg, but the Parliament of the North German Confederation refused to allow a part of the old Germanic confederation to be ceded to France. Accordingly, by the Treaty of London, 1867, the territory was neutralised and its independence placed under the guarantee of Europe.

Napoleon III.

Meanwhile Bismarck worked hard to bring the Southern states into line with Prussia. He reconstructed the Zollverein on a tariff basis, and only allowed the states to re-enter on his own terms. In many and various ways he brought pressure to bear, but he looked forward to a war with France, which would enable Prussia to pose as the guardian of Germany and the saviour of the Southern states. From the moment that Louis Napoleon succeeded in overthrowing his colleagues in the Second Republic and, by a plebiscite of the country, establishing himself as Emperor of the French, he contrived to suppress criticism by a vigorous foreign policy. In 1854 he joined Britain in the attack on Russia, and gained a showy triumph by assembling the peace delegates to Paris. In 1859 he joined Sardinia against Austria, and won Savoy and Nice as the price of his doubtful sincerity towards Italian unity.

Probably in his attempt to deceive his subjects as to his real character he succeeded in deceiving himself. Certainly, when matched against Bismarck nothing could save him from the humiliation, degradation, and disgrace which a less ambitious policy would have avoided. He overestimated his own abilities, as he did the resources and preparedness of his country; he underestimated the power of his opponent and the terrible military machine which had wrested victory from the Austrians in the short space of seven weeks.

Franco-Prussian War.

Causes.—It was essential for the success of Bismarck's schemes that France should make the first move in the war that was inevitable. Louis blundered into the trap laid for him. A revolution in Spain had dethroned the sovereign and established a republic. The Spanish, however, had no love for democratic government, and looked around for a sovereign who would rule them in accordance with their rights and liberties. They elected as their king, Leopold, of the House of Hohenzollern, a distant relative of the King of Prussia. Napoleon raised objections to such an increase of power to the Hohenzollerns, and Leopold retired. The Emperor of the French was not to be appeased by this action; he demanded an assurance from Prussia that no such candidature should be put forward in the future.

The King of Prussia telegraphed his reply to Bismarck, who in transmitting it to Paris so abbreviated the telegram that it could be construed unfavourably by a monarch determined on war, and there could be no doubt Napoleon desired to try conclusions with Prussia. His minister informed him that the troops were ready to the last gaiter button. He anticipated also that Austria and perhaps the Southern Germanic states would seize the opportunity to revenge themselves and make an alliance with France. Italy, too, might come to his assistance, as he had to theirs. Everything seemed

in Napóleon's favour, and with a light heart he declared war on Prussia. Like an avalanche the Prussian troops swept into France. They, indeed, were ready "to the gaiter buttons," while many of the French had neither uniforms nor rifles.

Furthermore, the aid which France expected to receive from Austria and Italy was not forthcoming on account of the astuteness of Bismarck, who had succeeded in establishing friendly relations with Russia and in retaining the good opinions of Italy. Austria, therefore, through fear of Russia, could not move, and Italy, not yet strong in her unity, mindful also of the perfidy at Villafranca and the cession of Savoy and Nice, refused her help. There was, of course, the remote chance that the South German states would show their hostility to Prussia by joining France. The military plans of Prussia anticipated such a move. The demand of Great Britain that the belligerents should respect the neutrality of Belgium removed any fear of French attack in the north, and allowed Prussia to concentrate her forces along the Middle Rhine and the Saar, ready to advance into France or attack on the flank any French army attempting to unite with the South Germans.

The War.—The French plan consisted of two main ideas—one, to assemble an army at Metz for the purpose of holding the routes into France; the other, to concentrate an army at Strassburg preparatory to crossing the Rhine and uniting with Bavaria. Before the Strassburg army could cross into Baden it was necessary to defeat the army of 200,000 men under the Prussian Crown Prince lying between Landau and Carlsruhe. At Weissenburg the French suffered defeat, and two days later were routed at Wörth. The broken army retreated towards Metz and Chalons-sur-Marne, where 50,000 men formed a reserve.

The three Prussian armies, two on the banks of the Saar and the third holding the heights above Wörth, now manœuvred to surround Metz and the army camped under its walls. A series of victories west of Metz at Gravelotte and

other places in the neighbourhood cut off the retreat of the French and placed in a state of siege an army of 170,000 men, with all their equipment. An attempt made by the army at Chalons to effect a junction with the Metz army at Montmédy ended in failure, partly because the besieged army could not or would not cut its way through the German lines, and partly because the relieving force, led by Napoleon in person, was hotly pursued by the army of the Crown Prince. A victory of the Prussians at Beaumont drove this force into Sedan, round which their armies drew their besieging lines. Thus Prussian military skill and French blundering resulted in the two French armies being completely besieged in the fortress towns of Metz and Sedan.

Third French Republic.

On September 1 Napoleon and the troops at Sedan surrendered. When the news reached Paris, the excited populace shouted, "Down with the Empire! Long live the Republic!" and on September 4 the Third Republic was proclaimed. "The Republic saved us from the invasion of 1792. The Republic is proclaimed." The army which had reduced Sedan marched on Paris, where Favre and Léon Gambetta headed the new republic. It was evident that, if France was to be saved, desperate measures were necessary. Gambetta, invested with dictatorial powers, escaped from Paris by balloon and endeavoured to rouse the country in an attempt to relieve Paris and Metz. On October 27 Metz fell—6,000 officers and 173,000 rank and file surrendered, while 541 field-pieces and 800 siege-guns fell into German hands. The enemy could now overrun the whole country and crush all resistance. In January, 1871, Paris surrendered, and France, turning from Gambetta to Thiers, accepted the inevitable and negotiated terms of peace.

By the **Treaty of Frankfort** France ceded Alsace, with its cotton mills, and Eastern Lorraine, including Metz and

Strassburg, with its iron mines, agreeing to pay also an indemnity of five milliards of francs (£200,000,000).

These humiliating terms, however, were not the worst evils that came upon unhappy France. Civil war broke out, one party of extremists, who for the moment held Paris, advocating a division of the country into separate and independent communes, united in a federation for common interests; the other party, determined on maintaining an undivided France and rallying their forces at Versailles, besieged their countrymen in Paris. The second siege exceeded the first in its horrors and brutality. It is estimated that no less than 17,000 Parisians perished in the street fights, while many more were transported or imprisoned. At last the authority of the National Assembly was established, and by 1875 the constitution of the Third and present Republic was drawn up. The new parliament consisted of two chambers—the Senate and the Chamber of Deputies—with responsible ministers and a President elected for seven years.

The German Empire.

The overthrow of the Empire of the French and the establishment of a republic were by no means the only results of the war. As we have seen, Italy seized the opportunity to capture Rome and complete the work of unification. Russia, too, during such favourable circumstances, repudiated the terms of the Peace of Paris which forbade her to have a navy or fortified places on the Black Sea. Most momentous of all, however, was the completion of German unity as desired by Bismarck. At Versailles, in the palace of the French kings, William, King of Prussia, received from the princes of the Germanic states (Austria excluded) the title of Kaiser—German Emperor.* The North German Confederation gave place to modern Germany, and the first part of Bismarck's work was completed.

* *Note*, not Emperor of Germany.

"From the very beginning of my career my sole guiding star has been how to unify Germany, and, that being achieved, how to strengthen, complete, and so constitute her unification that it may be preserved enduringly and with the goodwill of all concerned in it."

The German Empire thus established is unique in the history of governments. It was not a unity like Italy nor a



29d.—IMPERIAL GERMANY, 1871-1918.

federation like Switzerland. In varying degrees the several states had local independence and shared according to their importance in the councils that controlled the Empire. There were local parliaments and local armies, though the latter had to conform to the Prussian model. The rulers were represented in the Federal Council, or Bundesrat; the people of the Empire

as a whole elected members to the Lower House, or Reichstag. The Imperial ministers, however, were not responsible to the parliament, but to the Kaiser, who in times of war was supreme throughout the whole land. Even in times of peace the shadow of Prussian militarism darkened all the states, and the unity, accomplished, not by the gradual attainment of national aspirations, as in Italy, but by the "blood and iron" policy of Bismarck, could be maintained only by war or the fear of war.

The new Empire differed materially from the Holy Roman Empire and the Teutonic Realm before it, though there was not wanting evidence that many statesmen did not regard the work of unification complete until the peoples of the one (the German subjects of Austria) and the boundaries of the other (Lotharingia, Belgium, Holland, and possibly Denmark and Switzerland) were added to the Empire created in 1870. From 1870 to 1914 the work of German, and more especially Prussian, statesmen was to consolidate the Empire, organise the whole of the resources, and prepare for the next war, "The Day," which should add to their possessions or at least confirm them in what they had.

RECAPITULATION

Central Europe, unlike Italy, had throughout the Middle Ages a nominal unity—the Holy Roman Empire. The Congress of Vienna restored this ill-defined unity in the Confederation or Bund, but in the years which followed, four main movements developed :

1. The national movement—to obtain first a liberal constitution in the several states, and then a united "Lesser" or "Greater" Germany.
2. The Prussian-Austrian struggle for leadership, the balance swinging towards Austria at Olmütz (1850) and towards Prussia at Sadowa (1866).
3. The gradual Prussianisation of Germany (except the Austrian states), accomplished by (*a*) the Zollverein and (*b*) the "blood and iron" policy of Bismarck in the wars with Denmark, Austria, and France.

4. The race antagonisms in the Habsburg territories, resulting, after the exclusion of Austria from Germany, in the "dual" monarchy of Austria-Hungary.

These great movements had not been without their effect on France, which under Louis Napoleon had interfered in both Italy and Central Europe. The ultimate issue was the Franco-Prussian War, resulting in the overthrow of the French Empire and the establishment of the Third Republic. Incidentally, it completed German unity under Prussia and the formation of a German Empire.

QUESTIONS

1. To what extent do you consider geographical features (*a*) assisted the formation of the North German Confederation; (*b*) retarded the inclusion of the South German states in that confederation?

2. Trace the gradual change in the leadership of the Germanic states from Austria to Prussia. What reasons—geographical and historical—can you give for the separation of the German people in the Danube basins above and below the Vienna Gate in the establishment of the Empire of Germany?

3. Show by a map the natural routes between France and Germany and the positions of strategic towns. Illustrate the importance of both by a brief account of the campaigns of 1870.

CHAPTER XV

THE DISMEMBERMENT OF TURKEY

(*Period: 1850-1878*)

IN a previous chapter we saw how the European nationality movement affected the Balkan peninsula, and how Greece had asserted her independence. Throughout these stirring times, during which Italy was formed under the guidance of Sardinia and the Empire of Germany established under the control of Prussia, the race problems in the Near East assumed disquieting proportions.

This was, in part, due to the growing determination of the subject states to emulate the action of Greece, and in part to the increasing jealousy of the Powers, who sought, in the chaos of Turkish collapse, to enhance the economic importance of their own states by annexations from the Ottoman Empire. We have already seen that both Russia and Austria had designs on the territories of the Sultan, and that events during the "thirties" had actually resulted in the virtual establishment of a Russian protectorate in the peninsula.

Britain and, to a certain extent, France watched with alarm the encroachments of Austria, and especially Russia, towards the Ægean and Mediterranean Seas, a move which threatened Britain's sea road to the East* and her Empire of India. They therefore favoured the rise of small states in the Balkan peninsula so long as the nominal rule of the Turk remained in Europe. By these means they sought to oppose the encroach-

* The Suez Canal was opened in 1869, and Britain bought the Khedive's shares in the Suez Canal Company in 1876.

ments of the northern land powers and at the same time satisfy the growing demands of the Balkan peoples themselves.

The Crimean War.

Causes.—Where great movements such as these are involved, trivial affairs often assume an importance by furnishing some excuse for war. This was the case in the Balkans towards the close of the year 1853.

In that year Montenegro revolted against Turkey, if the term "revolt" can be applied to a state which has always repudiated the claim of suzerainty which Turkey has never been able to enforce. The massing of Turkish troops on the frontier so threatened the very existence of the principality that Austria stepped in and compelled Turkey to agree to terms of peace. Montenegro was saved, though later events have shown she had more to fear from Austria than from Turkey.

Had the Sultan refused the terms of peace, there is no doubt Russia would have taken that opportunity to declare war. As it was, some other pretext had to be found. The Czar at that time feared no opposition from Britain. He had even gone so far as to discuss with the British ambassador at St. Petersburg (Petrograd) a partition of the Turkish territories. It seemed impossible that the Sultan could long defy the forces tending to drive him out of Europe. "We have on our hands," said Czar Nicholas, "a sick man—a very sick man; it will be, I tell you frankly, a great misfortune if one of these days he should slip away from us, especially before all necessary arrangements are made." He was to learn that public opinion in Great Britain, clamouring for war, could overcome the reluctance of a weak minister like Lord Aberdeen.

To bring about a quarrel with France was comparatively easy. The Prince-President of 1848 was not long before he bullied the ministers and cajoled the people into electing him Emperor, and he was intensely annoyed when the Czar, unwilling to recognise the upstart of a revolution as his equal,

addressed him in all correspondence as "My dear friend" instead of the usual style between monarchs, "My brother." Furthermore, Napoleon III., posing as the champion of small nations, increased the animosity of such an autocrat as the Czar of all the Russias.

The question of religion furnished the pretext for war. During the long period of almost two centuries (sixteenth to eighteenth) when France had been in alliance with Turkey against Austria, the care of the Holy Places of Jerusalem had been entrusted to French monks. When France became hostile to Turkey, or indifferent to religious matters, Russia pressed the claims of the Greek Church to the same custody. In the middle of the nineteenth century, therefore, both Latins and Greeks could point to concessions granting each the precedence. With the power of Russia in the ascendant, the Greek Church, of which the Czar was head, could press its claims with success. Here was an opportunity such as Napoleon III. loved. He could win the support of the Catholics by championing their cause in Jerusalem; he could turn public attention from the *coup d'état* which had placed him on the throne, and at the same time win glory to France and Napoleon III. and humiliate his personal foe, Czar Nicholas I.

The War.—Both rulers were eager for war, and this is the real explanation of the outbreak of hostilities. The question of the Holy Places was amicably settled, thanks to the good offices of the British ambassador at Constantinople, who, however, did not enjoy the confidence of the Czar. But now Russia insisted on a claim which would have given her the rule over a large number of the Sultan's subjects—viz., a protectorate over the whole of the Orthodox Church in the Ottoman Empire. To add force to her claim, Russian troops crossed the Pruth and occupied Moldavia and Wallachia.

The four powers, Britain, France, Prussia, and Austria, drew up a "note" stating that former treaties having reference to religion should be kept both in the letter and in the spirit.

To this Russia agreed. Turkey, on the other hand, amended the note in such a manner as to indicate that she would keep the treaties in the letter, but not in the spirit—at any rate not in the spirit in which Russia interpreted them. She furthermore called upon Russia to evacuate the principalities, and on her refusal a British fleet entered the Dardanelles to support Turkey. It was now evident that Britain would not remain neutral, and that Russia would have to count on the hostility of France and Britain, and probably of Austria and Prussia.

A Turkish army crossed the Danube at Vidin, and, after entrenching at Kalafat in Wallachia, defeated the Russians at Oltenitza. The Czar thereupon sent out his Black Sea fleet, which, finding the Turkish fleet in the harbour at Sinope, proceeded at once to bombard and annihilate it. The news caused something of a sensation in London, and what had been described merely as an “untoward event” at Navarino was now called a massacre at Sinope. Without waiting to consult Austria and Prussia, Britain and France presented an ultimatum to Russia, and on its non-acceptance hostilities commenced in both the Baltic and Black Seas. The Baltic campaign failed, and the main struggles were fought on the shores of the Euxine. The successes of the Turks and the demands of Austria resulted in the Russian evacuation of Moldavia and Wallachia, the principalities being occupied by Austria till 1857. Similarly, French troops occupied Greece to the same date, since the King, and particularly the Queen, insisted on taking this opportunity to enlarge the frontiers of that country. “Do not all the Greeks beyond our frontiers without exception desire their liberation? Do not we all without exception desire the unity of the nation?” said the King; and, as we have said, the popular risings against Turkey to accomplish those ends only led to French occupation until the close of hostilities.

War in the Crimea.—The remainder of the war we must pass over quickly. Under instructions from London

and Paris, but against the better judgment of the British and French commanders in the field, the theatre of war was changed from the Varna district to the Crimea, a region almost unknown to the invaders. It was thought that the fall of Sebastopol would humiliate Russia and terminate the war. Accordingly, 37,000 British, 27,000 French, and 7,000 Turks, landed at Eupatoria Bay, north of the citadel. Instead of attacking at once and probably taking the fort in a week, delays and indecisions dragged the campaign out to twelve long, weary months, during which 10,000 British died of sickness alone. The plan ultimately adopted was to cross the Alma and then work round to the south to the port of Balaclava, and from there to direct operations against Sebastopol. When the fortress did at last capitulate, or rather was taken—for the Russians had evacuated it—everyone was desirous of peace. “General February” had turned traitor and laid his icy hand on Nicholas I., and the new Emperor was less warlike. The capture of Kars by Russia balanced somewhat the loss of Sebastopol, and all parties could meet with honour and discuss terms of peace. In the Congress which met at Paris the policy of Count Cavour, who during the war had sent 15,000 Piedmontese to the assistance of the Allies, bore fruit, and Sardinia was represented in the councils of Europe.

Treaty of Paris.

The Treaty of Paris practically left the map as before, except that Moldavia received the southern part of Bessarabia, and also, until 1857, the delta of the Danube, which was then placed under the Porte and administered by a commission representing all the riverain states—Württemberg, Bavaria, Austria, Turkey, Serbia, Wallachia, and Moldavia, though the delegates of the last three had, of course, to be approved by the Porte. The Sultan confirmed the privileges of his Christian subjects, the free navigation of the Danube was established,

and, as we have seen, Russia was compelled to withdraw from its shores. The Black Sea was neutralised; no war vessels were to enter it, and no arsenals were to be established on its shores.

“Of the historic Treaty of Paris not much has stood the strain of time, national sentiment, and interests of State. The creation and complete independence of Rumania and the independence of Serbia have made of merely antiquarian importance the clauses concerning the vassal principalities of 1856; Russia, so early as 1870, availed herself of the defeat of one of her Crimean opponents to repudiate the Black Sea clauses of the treaty. Sebastopol saw in 1886 the rebirth of the Black Sea fleet, while Batum, still Turkish in 1856, has become a fortified part of the Russian Euxine. The strip of Bessarabia ceded to Moldavia at Paris was handed back to Russia at Berlin; Kars has long been a Russian town. How the signatories of the Treaty of Paris have observed their undertaking ‘to respect the independence and the territorial integrity of the Ottoman Empire’ may be seen by the Austrian annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Italian annexation of Tripoli, and the British occupation (now annexation) of Cyprus and Egypt, while the clause which pledged Russia and Sardinia to invoke the mediation of their co-signatories in the event of a disagreement with the Porte was disregarded by Russia in 1887 and by Italy in 1911, and Cavour’s signature thus dishonoured. The blessings promised to the Sultan’s Christian subjects . . . have proved to be absolutely worthless.”*

The interval between the Crimean War and the Russo-Turkish War of 1876-1878 is full of events of importance, especially to those whom they immediately concerned. As the “thirties” were characterised by revolts in both Western Europe and in the possessions of Turkey, so, too, were the “sixties,” showing that nationality and democracy were still fighting their way upwards and outwards. In Italy and Germany during that decade stirring events happened. In 1867 England passed the great Reform Act, which con-

* Miller, *The Ottoman Empire*, pp. 238-239.

siderably extended the franchise; while Poland (1863)—unfortunate as ever—was crushed almost to death in her heroic struggle for liberty. In the Balkans, too, during this period the small states, taking advantage of the preoccupation of the Powers elsewhere, made a further bid for freedom on the basis of nationality.

Moldavia and Wallachia effected a union by choosing the same governor under the suzerainty of the Sultan. Serbia and Montenegro continued to be restless, the former because Turkish troops still garrisoned the fortresses and Belgrade; the latter because she desired certain fertile valleys and an open seaboard. These Turkey refused to grant except on the condition of an acknowledgment of her suzerainty. The year 1862 saw great changes in Greece. Otho, with all his zeal and earnestness in the national cause of the country he had adopted, failed to win the confidence of his subjects, and a revolution drove him from the throne. The Powers chose for the rebellious state a new king in the person of Prince George of Schleswig-Holstein, and Britain, willing to usher in the new reign under the best of auspices, yielded to the oft-expressed wish of her subjects of the Ionian Protectorate by withdrawing her rule and placing the islands under the sovereignty of the new King of the Greeks. In Rumania, also, a revolt had deposed the reforming but unpopular governor who had been elected to the two principalities, and the new ruler chosen for the "Belgium of the Lower Danube" was Prince Charles of Hohenzollern.

Bulgaria.

About this time an event of great importance occurred. Hitherto we have been concerned with the formation and development of Serbia, Greece, and Rumania as states, and with the struggles of Montenegro. Now, under the influence of Russia, a long-forgotten, silent nation sprang into prominence. The Bulgarians were Greek Catholics, but when

once it had been brought back to the national memory that there had been in times past a powerful Bulgarian empire, the people demanded first to be separated from the spiritual rule of the Greek Patriarch, and then to be granted autonomy or separation from the rule of the Sultan. In both these movements they were backed by Russia, who saw a chance of weakening Greece and Turkey and strengthening herself at the same time. The first demand was granted in 1870: the second was not attained till after a war had been fought between their overlord and their would-be protector.

In the summer of 1875 there broke out in a small village in Herzegovina a revolt which set the whole of the Balkans in a blaze and agitated all the Courts of Europe. The peasants of Herzegovina suffered terribly from their Muhammadan masters, often as much as two-thirds of the crops being taken to pay the taxes. In their struggle they were supported by their "brothers" of Montenegro and Serbia, both of which states declared war on Turkey. The Bulgarians seized the opportunity to assert their own independence, but the risings were put down with such indescribable barbarities that the "Bulgarian atrocities" sent a shudder through Europe. Mr. Gladstone issued his famous pamphlet in which occurred the now classical expression, "Let the Turks now carry away their abuses in the only possible manner—namely, by carrying off themselves. Their Zaptiehs and their Mudirs, their Bimbashis and their Yuzbashis, their Kaimakams and their Pashas, one and all, bag and baggage, shall, I hope, clear out from the province they have desolated and profaned." The eyes of Europe turned to the cruelly tormented state, which was soon to rise from victim to conqueror and take her place among the new nations of the South-East.

Meanwhile Serbia had been defeated, and the road to Belgrade lay open, when Russia intervened and demanded an armistice. For a time there was a truce, during which a conference of the Powers met, first at Constantinople and then

at London. They endeavoured to obtain a rectification of the Montenegrin frontiers and the autonomy of Bulgaria, Bosnia, and Herzegovina, while the Sultan called a parliament for the first time,* and promised to introduce a number of reforms. A revolutionary party in Turkey frustrated all these plans, and war became inevitable.

Russo-Turkish War.

Russia declared war, and obtained permission from Rumania to send her troops through that state, while the Rumanians declared their complete independence from Turkey. The line of the Danube provided a very great obstacle, because the low-lying, marshy north bank is dominated by the higher south bank, behind which is the "Quadrilateral" of Rustchuk, Shumla, Varna, and Silistria, with Vidin guarding the western passes. The first battles were therefore fought in Asia at Kars and Erzeroum. Not until June did the Russian forces succeed in crossing the Danube. Then they passed over at Galatz, thereby holding the Dobrudscha, and at Simnitsa, threatening the Shipka Pass. The Turkish army holding Vidin advanced and occupied Plevna, which the Russians had neglected to take. The Turkish commander, Osman Pasha, rapidly fortified the vicinity, including the town itself, and by holding out against the besieging army of Russia and Rumania checked for some months the advance towards Constantinople. With the fall of Plevna, the enemies of Turkey gradually closed round her. Montenegro advanced into Herzegovina, thence to Spizza and Antivari; Serbia entered Nish; and, crowning disaster of all, the Russians entered Adrianople. Now a series of events occurred which had far-reaching results. Turkey, with the Russian sword at her throat, made peace at **San Stefano**,

* It had a very short existence, and the next parliament was called—in 1908!

near Constantinople. The treaty was a triumph for Russian arms and diplomacy. It aimed at creating a "Greater Bulgaria" practically independent of the Sultan, dividing Turkey into two distinct parts. Montenegro and Serbia were to be enlarged and given their independence. Rumania, against her wish, had to grant part of her possessions in Bessarabia to Russia, receiving in return the marshy Dobrudscha. No one was satisfied with the arrangement except Russia and Bulgaria. The "big Bulgaria" offended Greeks and Serbs, who saw the opportunity of uniting their "brothers" with themselves completely disappearing. The exchange of the Dobrudscha for the fertile lands of Bessarabia angered Rumanians, while the Powers strenuously opposed the treaty on account of the influence and prestige it gave to Russia.

Moreover, Austria, who since her withdrawal from Italy in 1866 looked more earnestly to the South-East, saw her way to Salonika blocked by the new Bulgaria, while England feared the steady advance of Russia towards the road to India. Accordingly, the Powers demanded that the Treaty of San Stefano should be discussed by representatives assembled for the purpose at Berlin. Russia reluctantly gave way, and was by no means pleased with the treaty when it finally emerged from the Congress as the Treaty of Berlin.

Treaty of Berlin. (*Vide* Map 39b.)

The new arrangements were as follows :

1. Bulgaria should not extend south of the Balkan mountains. A Christian prince should be elected, the state to remain under the suzerainty of the Sultan.
2. Eastern Roumelia was granted self-government under a Christian governor, but otherwise was to remain under the political and military control of the Sultan.
3. Rumania and Serbia were granted complete independence
4. Montenegro obtained access to the sea at Antivari.

5. Austria occupied Bosnia and Herzegovina, ensuring good government, though the states still remained part of the Sultan's possessions.

When we take a broad survey of the results of the Treaty of Berlin we notice first that the Turkish Empire had suffered dismemberment; second, that Russian arrogance and impetuosity had alienated from her all the Balkan states except Bulgaria; third, that Austria had pushed in between the Serbs of Serbia and Montenegro; and, fourth, that Britain's support of Turkey was not so strong as at the time of the Crimean War. An arrangement with the Sultan, however, showed the next move of British statesmen. By a secret convention Britain agreed to protect the Asiatic possessions of Turkey from the attacks of another power, and for this purpose Cyprus was ceded to Britain as "a place of arms" to be held as long as Russia retained Kars. It is a curious irony of fate that this island, definitely annexed by Britain in 1914, became a "place of arms" from which in the early days of the Great War she sought to assist Russia against Turkey.

The Treaty of Berlin marked the close of the third great crisis in Balkan history during the nineteenth century, but it did not close a single one of those movements which in a former chapter we said gave the clue to the later history of the Turkish Empire. When next we look in this direction in Chapter XIX., the old problems will still be there, but the great economic changes which characterise Europe after the "seventies" are not without their influence on the actors and the parts they play in the great drama on the stage of the Turkish Empire.

RECAPITULATION

In the Balkans two problems continued to present themselves, consequent on the decline of Turkey :

1. The race movements.
2. The encroachments of the Powers.

The Crimean War checked the advance of Russia, and the Treaty of Paris declared the Black Sea neutral and guaranteed the integrity of Turkey. Revolts continued to weaken the power of the Sultan, and prepared the way for further dismemberment of his territory.

1. Moldavia and Wallachia practically became free (1858-1866).
2. Crete revolted (1859).
3. Greece revolted, deposed the King, and accepted Prince William of Schleswig-Holstein as George I., with additional territory on the mainland and in the Ionian Islands (1863).
4. Serbia asserted her independence (1867).

About this time the Bulgarian Church was established, which led to a movement for Bulgarian nationality. Revolts in Herzegovina and Bosnia encouraged revolts in Bulgaria. These insurrections were cruelly suppressed by the "atrocities" of the Turks, and but for the intervention of Russia no further dismemberment might have taken place.

During the Russo-Turkish War the Russian forces advanced to the walls of Constantinople. The Sultan agreed to the Treaty of San Stefano, which would have created a "Big Bulgaria" under the protection of Russia. The Powers intervened, and the treaty was modified by the Congress at Berlin. The new treaty guaranteed the independence of Rumania and Serbia; the autonomy of a small Bulgaria; the semi-independence of Roumelia; and restored to Turkey a wide strip of territory from the Adriatic to the Black Sea.

QUESTIONS

1. Show the broad connection between the internal race problems and the foreign policy of the Powers of Europe in the Balkan peninsula. Why did Russia support the claims of the submerged peoples, while Britain and France sought to maintain the territorial integrity of Turkey? Illustrate your answer by maps.
2. Trace the connection between the Crimean War and the internal affairs of France and Italy.

CHAPTER XVI

ECONOMIC EUROPE

THE years 1870 to 1878 serve to divide the history of Europe during the nineteenth century into two periods. Changes in the political map form a distinctive feature of the first; changes in the economic map characterise the second. As we have seen in the last four chapters, numerous revolutions and wars resulted in the modification or "rectification" of frontiers upon the principle of nationality. The map of Europe as settled in the "seventies" remained almost unchanged until the Balkan and Great Wars (1912-1918), in spite of the fact that there remained areas such as Finland, Poland, Schleswig-Holstein, Alsace-Lorraine, the Trentino, and other portions of Austria-Hungary, where the people were denied that political freedom which their more fortunate brethren had gained. In the polyglot empires of Central and Eastern Europe the national movement was overshadowed, if not obliterated, by economic and social problems. The enormous weapons which a new age developed inevitably increased the power of the central authority against the weaker subject-races. To outward appearance, the national movement in each country was slowly dying, strangled by the ever-tightening grasp of a hard, materialistic, and inhuman state. Russia, Prussia, and Austria-Hungary, in their desire to establish an undivided homogeneous state, attempted to crush out all that would keep alive national sentiment. Russia in Finland and Poland; Prussia in Poland, Schleswig, and Alsace; and, to some extent, Austria in Bohemia, forbade the inhabitants to use their own language,*

* The Czech language was ultimately recognised by Imperial Austria.

gagged the Press, prevented national fêtes, and imprisoned or exiled many people whose only crime was love of nation.

The collapse, as a result of the recent war, of the great, artificial, industrialised state, resting on militarism, together with the revival in an aggravated form of the suppressed national movement, has once more revealed—what might have been learned from history—that the foundations of human society are not of gold or iron, but flesh and blood.

Europe, 1870-1914.

The states as they emerged from the wars and revolutions prior to 1878 differed entirely from those which had preceded them. The new grouping resulted in a more clearly defined separation of nations—a separation accentuated by mutual suspicion and jealousy. This hostility formed one of the chief factors in the remarkable advance of European countries in modern times. To guard against possible attack, great states increased and reorganised their armies. This necessitated an improvement in agriculture, the building of textile factories and iron works, that the soldiers might be fed, clothed, and armed, especially in time of war, when foreign supplies might be cut off. The army and navy of defence might, however, easily become a weapon of offence, and the defensive measures of one state be interpreted as a possible threat by another. Imperial Germany, under the leadership of Prussia, set the pace in turning Europe into an "armed camp." She was essentially a land power, almost entirely shut in by other countries, and thus having very long land frontiers. Such frontiers demanded a large, well-organised army for defensive purposes. It is true, Germany had little to fear from Denmark, Holland, and Belgium, nor was it difficult to arrange an alliance with Austria, owing to the intimate historical and economic connections existing between the two. But while there was little danger in the north and south, Imperial Russia on the east and France on the west were serious menaces, the

one because of its immense potential strength, the other because of its desire to avenge the insult of 1870 and to recover Alsace-Lorraine. German statesmen therefore concentrated all their attention on a well-equipped, ever-ready army.

There were evidences, however, that the army was organised, not for defence only, but for offence, if and when opportunity served. The inevitable result followed. Russia and France made counter-preparations, and, furthermore, formed a treaty alliance which would prevent Germany concentrating the whole of her army against one of them alone, and thus compel her to fight on two fronts at the same time, as actually happened in the opening years of the Great War. It has been one of the unfortunate developments of modern times that nations have become more and more suspicious of each other, and on the slightest provocation have often threatened to unsheath the sword. During these years the burden of armaments steadily increased, and the shadow of approaching war steadily deepened. But war preparation, or rather war preparedness, has a great effect on the economic life and welfare of a country. An army requires food, clothing, and weapons, and, as it is useless to depend entirely on another country for these, each state after 1870 commenced a serious study of the development of its resources and the increase of its trade. It is a necessary preliminary to the study of recent European history to know something of the economic products of the Continent and their distribution; of the physical features as they affect frontiers and means of communication. Detailed information may and should be obtained from geographical books. All that can here be stated are the broad features of the problem before us.

Structure of Europe.

Extending throughout the central regions of Europe is a series of plateaus—Iberian peninsula, Auvergne, Ardennes Rhine-Massif, Vosges-Black Forest, Harz, Bohemia, and



30a.—ECONOMIC EUROPE—MINERAL WEALTH.

Galicia. To the east the rocks composing these "blocks" sink beneath the Russian plain, approach the surface in the Donetz valley, and reappear once more in the Urals. Similar rocks also form the "felds" of Scandinavia and the "highlands" of Britain, thus roughly completing an enclosure of ancient plateaus, in or near which are the chief ore-producing centres. On the inner margin of this enclosure lie the great coalfields to which minerals and raw materials are brought, and on which have sprung up the industrial towns of modern times. The chief centres thus located are—

(1) The English and Scotch areas; (2) Le Creuzot and St. Etienne districts; (3) Alsace-Lorraine; (4) North-East France and South Belgium; (5) Westphalia; (6) Saxony and Bohemia; (7) Poland and Silesia; (8) Donetz valley; and (9) the Central Urals. In addition, there are on the margins of the Iberian plateau two other mineral areas—viz., Galicia in the north-west and Sierra Nevada in the south-east.

Within the enclosure of the plateaus lies the European plain, the lowest parts of which are occupied by the North and Baltic Seas, whose shores are low and their coastal waters shallow and obstructed by sand-banks. Harbours for modern ships are therefore only constructed and maintained at great cost. The greater part of the plain is fertile agricultural land, producing food-crops—wheat, barley, oats, beet, etc.—in abundance. To the south of the Baltic, in Brandenburg-Prussia, as also in Finland, there are numerous lakes and swamps with sandy heaths and gravelly hills, which detract from their economic importance. These are due to the great ice sheet which once covered this region, of which a remnant still continues in the glaciers of Scandinavia.

South of the "blocks" is a long series of fold mountains extending from the Pyrenees to the Caucasus, whose general direction has been determined by the hard, resistant plateaus. These ranges, known throughout the greater part of their length as the Alps, are on the whole non-metalliferous, and

economically are of little value except for forest and pasture and to some extent for water-power, which is being utilised on an ever-increasing scale in industry.* As the ancient rocks enclose the European plain, so the "folds" enclose the plains of the south.

The Apennines branch off through Italy, and, continuing in Sicily, the Atlas, and the Sierra Nevada, surround the Western Mediterranean, the narrow openings into which are guarded by the rock fortress of Gibraltar and the island fortress of Malta. The products of this region are those suited to a warm, moist winter and a hot, dry summer—the vine, olive, mulberry, and orange. Between the Alps and Apennines is the plain of Lombardy, built up by alluvium from the Alps and watered by the numerous snow-fed rivers. Its fertility is remarkable, and abundant crops of wheat, maize, rice, and hay are raised. Hungary is, broadly, the natural region enclosed by the Carpathians and the Alps of the Eastern Adriatic, and is famous for wheat, maize, cattle, and horses. Within the Balkan peninsula numerous ranges radiate from the great plateau of the north-west in directions southwards and eastwards, enclosing numerous river plains capable of yielding abundant crops, when the peasant feels secure from war and can obtain the necessary capital.

Economic Areas.

There are therefore within Europe three great economic areas—(i.) the agricultural plains in the north; (ii.) the industrial areas on the margins of the "blocks"; (iii.) the Mediterranean and steppe lands of the south. The large Continental states aimed at extending their sway from north to south, and enclosing either politically or commercially, as much of each as possible. Countries like Holland, Denmark, and Switzerland, whose resources are very

* Oil is usually obtained in the fold regions, as in Galicia, Bukowina, Rumania, and Transcaucasia.

limited, must always be poor in comparison with the great industrial states, and one wonders how long it will be before the separatist tendency of national sentiment will yield to the commercial advantages gained by union or federation to form a greater economic unit.

During the period under review—*i.e.*, 1870-1914—the really great countries were France and the empires of Germany (with which Austria, for economic purposes, may be taken), and Russia, all of which had access to both the North and Mediterranean Seas. Switzerland, Holland, Belgium, and Denmark were geographically and commercially related to one or more of these greater states, and to some extent regulated their policy in harmony with that of their neighbours. Italy, Spain, and Portugal, on the other hand, were definite political units, and not economically bound to foreign countries in the same way as those just enumerated. It was natural that united Italy, after 1870, should desire to extend her influence within the Mediterranean, and in order to obtain support against the two Mediterranean powers, Britain and France, she joined her traditional enemy Austria with Germany in the Triple Alliance. Such an alliance was a distinct advantage to the Germans, particularly in connection with their North African schemes, for it ensured the Adriatic as an outlet to the Mediterranean. Italy, once recognised as a great Power, soon found that lack of mineral wealth was a serious disadvantage in the maintenance of an army and navy essential to her new status and dignity. Thus Italy obtained a position in European politics which necessitated a tremendous strain on her resources. Spain and Portugal, on the contrary, had mineral wealth, fertile lands, and good pasture, but they played little or no part in the great events of the time, partly because of internal troubles associated with an unstable government, and partly because of their isolation from the great industrial centres of North-West and Central Europe.

In 1910 Portugal overthrew her monarchy and established

a republic, so that she has since been divided between monarchists and republicans. Spain is equally divided into two parties as a result of her historical growth. The gradual expulsion of the Moors had been carried out by Aragon and Castile, the two Christian states, one arising from the Spanish mark of Charlemagne between the Ebro and the Pyrenees; the other from Galicia, where Suevi and Goths had sought refuge behind the mountain wall of the Cantabrians. In this way Spain became divided, and though the Crowns were united by the marriage of Ferdinand and Isabella, the people still retain marked differences of character and temperament, so that Barcelona, the centre of Aragonese life, continues hostile to Castilian Madrid. Political turmoil in Spain has therefore prevented the development of her mineral wealth and agriculture, and a country once the first in Europe is to-day of little importance.

National Policies.

We must now examine a little more closely the problems connected with the industrialism which spread through Europe after 1870. Keep in mind that statesmen regarded the defence of the realm as the first necessity, and then you will understand certain matters otherwise unintelligible. Manufactures had to be fostered—*i.e.*, the state must encourage industry. This it did by placing heavy duties on manufactured goods coming into the country, while giving specially low railway and shipping rates for export. In this way industries which otherwise would scarcely have started, grew up and flourished. Many countries also put heavy duties on foodstuffs in order to assist their own agriculture. Every country wished to be self-supporting in manufactured goods and food, so that it could exist through a period of war when foreign supplies might be cut off. We have already seen that Napoleon I. initiated this policy in France; Bismarck did the same for Germany after 1870, and Witte for Russia after 1880.



306.—ECONOMIC EUROPE—
 The navigable portion only



COMMUNICATIONS.

of the rivers is here shown

Britain continued to follow a policy of free trade, because it was thought "protection" would be detrimental to our world trade, while she relied on a strong navy to keep open the sea route for the import of raw material and foodstuffs. Nevertheless, there are statesmen who now think it necessary to follow a similar "protectionist" policy in self-defence, to safeguard the British Empire by a tariff wall, and to make it a vast political unit which shall be self-contained and self-supporting.

It is not sufficient to be able to feed, clothe, and arm the country's forces; it must be possible to move them and their supplies rapidly from place to place. Besides the international railways and waterways, each of the great European countries constructed a network of strategic railways, all owned by the state. In Britain the railways were made for trade, and were owned by private companies who hoped to make a profit. On the Continent military defence came before trade, and the railways were, and still are, looked upon in much the same way as battleships, arsenals, and depots. Of course, in times of peace they could be used for trade where required, but it became quite common to find well-constructed lines with large stations capable of detraining and accommodating thousands of soldiers where ordinarily there was scarcely an inhabitant. Sir Edward Grey referred to this as a sign of Germany's hostile intentions towards Belgium even prior to 1914:

"Germany was establishing an elaborate network of strategical railways leading from the Rhine to the Belgian frontier through a barren, thinly-populated tract—railways deliberately constructed to permit of a sudden attack upon Belgium."

Social Legislation.

The creation of large armies and navies, the fostering and protection of industries and agriculture, the construction of railways and like matters, account for much of the legislation of European countries after 1870. There is another phase, however, which requires some attention. Great industry means

the building of large industrial towns and the congregation of large numbers of men in the same area. They are thus thrown together, and are able to discuss matters which affect them. They combine into trade unions, and exercise such power that they can influence the government, who, fearing riots and revolutions, desires to conciliate them. Indeed, the trade unions and similar bands of workmen formed the nucleus of innumerable Soviets, or Councils of Soldiers and Workmen who effected the overthrow of autocracy in Central and Eastern Europe and inaugurated the revolutions. We find, therefore, that with the growth of industrialism there is always a great amount of social legislation, especially in great manufacturing countries like Britain, France, and Germany. Some of the chief measures are the factory laws which protect the worker, Acts granting compensation for injury, Acts insuring against ill-health or providing pensions in old age, and many others of like nature.

The picture, then, that we have of Europe after 1870 is a great hive of industry, each country bent upon developing its resources to the utmost, and looking with suspicion on the activities of its neighbour. Within each country we see the workers busy in their labours, but compelling the state to ameliorate their condition; workers who have some sympathy with those of other countries, and who but for the animosities of governments might have united the democracies of the world into a peace-loving community, desirous only of living with some degree of comfort and enjoying the new prosperity which characterised the opening of the twentieth century.

RECAPITULATION

The history of the nineteenth century may be divided into two periods—(i.) previous to 1870, characterised by political changes; (ii.) after 1870, characterised by economic changes. The economic development was, and still is, closely associated with the structure of Europe. The Continent may be divided into—(i.) a series of ore-

producing plateaus, enclosing a northern agricultural plain; and (ii.) a system of fold ranges enclosing the plains of the Mediterranean. The tendency was towards the formation of powerful industrial states, as France, Germany, and possibly Russia, which threatened first the commercial and then the political independence of the smaller states.

Under the new conditions the State not only fostered manufactures and the construction of railways, but also dealt with many social problems arising out of the new industrialism, wherein the workers by education and intercourse began to realise their power and to demand redress of grievances.

QUESTIONS

1. Divide Europe into broad economic regions, stating the special advantages of each. What are the chief routes traversing two or more of these regions, and indicate the type of traffic and the most important trade centres?
2. Sketch briefly the stages by which Imperial Germany aimed at controlling the routes from the North Sea to the Mediterranean.
3. Show in what directions great industry leads to social legislation. Give instances in this country.

CHAPTER XVII

THE GREAT POWERS

THE last chapter was devoted to a general account of the economic changes made in Europe during the period 1870-1914. The new nations, while enjoying greater personal liberty, passed more and more under State control, in order that all the forces of the country might be completely organised. Within each state social changes led to social legislation and to greater freedom of the worker in certain directions, especially in the realm of ideas. These two conceptions—a controlling State and a socialistic industrial class—are true for all countries, but specially those of the Great Powers—Great Britain, France, Germany, Austria-Hungary, Italy, and Russia. We now purpose to study these countries (with the exception of Great Britain) in greater detail, first because they formed the real Europe—the Europe that mattered—and secondly because their great and rapid development carried their activities beyond the boundaries of Europe to every corner of the globe, making the world but a Greater Europe.

The development of Great Britain differed materially from that of Continental countries. The industrial revolution was an unconscious movement and took place several decades before it commenced in France. A policy of free trade, not protection, was consistently followed, and a great navy, not a great army, was the aim of our statesmen. The development of British policy as it affected economic, and was affected by geographical, considerations, must be sought elsewhere. Here we can only compare the relative strength of the Continental powers as they stood before the outbreak of the war in 1914.

It is a matter of importance to every state that its popula-

tion shall not only increase, but be educated in such a way that the inhabitants shall augment the wealth of the state and not be a burden on it. The following diagram will enable you to compare the growth of population in Great Britain, France, Germany, and Russia. It must be borne in mind, of course, that additions and losses of territory have to be taken into

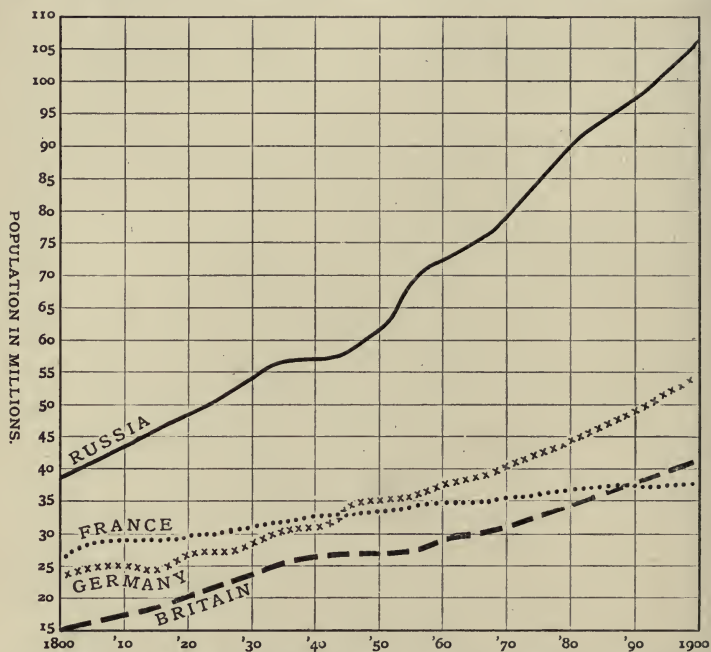


DIAGRAM TO ILLUSTRATE THE GROWTH OF POPULATION IN BRITAIN, FRANCE, GERMANY AND RUSSIA DURING THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

consideration no less than increase and decrease of population, as usually understood. Thus, the loss to France and gain to Germany of Alsace and Lorraine in 1871 affected the populations, trade, and revenue of both countries—adversely in one case, advantageously in the other.

From the diagram you will see that while France remained almost stationary, Germany increased rapidly, and Russia very rapidly. You can also understand why many Germans considered their best policy was to be on friendly terms with Russia, whose population increased about three millions annually, while they regarded France as effete and unable alone to resist their determination to reconstruct the old Teutonic Realm.

France.

The crushing defeats at Sedan and Metz formed no true gauge of the capabilities of either France or the French. The people are highly intellectual, and are animated by a glorious historical past. The broad plains which encircle the Auvergne, situate as they are in dissimilar climates, produce a variety of crops; the industrial areas in the Cevennes, Lorraine, and the north-east yield abundance of iron, steel, and textile goods, so that to a large extent France is self-supporting. To-day within the Seine valley, with its sunny climate and fair rainfall, wheat is generally grown. In Normandy there are extensive apple orchards. In the north-east, where the climate is a little more bleak, sugar-beet is cultivated on a large scale. The warm slopes of the Champagne are clothed with vineyards, and within the lower valley of the Loire wheat is also important. The higher lands of the Auvergne, clad still in parts with the ancient forests, grow rye and beet. In the warmer districts of the Dordogne and Garonne the vine, flax, hemp, tobacco, and maize, form the chief economic products. The mild "Mediterranean" climate of Provence and the Rhone valley enables olives and mulberries as well as the ordinary food crops to flourish. For this reason the silk industry is centred in that area, particularly at Avignon and Lyons. Unlike England, France depends largely on her agricultural products, and only in the north-east and round St. Etienne is there a large industrial population, though the Great War

created new centres of industry which may well continue in the future. The extension of the Belgian coalfield into France, the sheep-rearing on the uplands of the Ardennes, the growing of flax on the damp plains, the situation of Dunkirk, Calais, and Rouen for the import of raw materials, resulted in important textile manufactures in this area, the chief towns being Amiens, Reims, Roubaix, Lille, and Cambrai. The coal and iron round St. Etienne gave rise to important railway and armament works.

The waterways of France are highly developed, and, unlike those of England, are used extensively. The chief canals are the Burgundy Canal, joining the Seine and Saône; the Rhine and Marne Canal; the Canal du Centre, connecting the Loire and Saône; and the Canal du Midi, which gives Toulouse an outlet in the Gulf of Lions.

Paris is the natural focus of the roads traversing the northern plains, the Poitou Gate, and the Rhone-Saône valleys. Its military defence is excellent, for it is surrounded by concentric ridges of hills with outward-facing scarps cut through by rivers which converge near Paris, and in whose gaps the chief fortified towns are built. The railway system is accordingly radial from the capital, with concentric lines at increasing distances from the city.

Germany.

Germany was late in her industrial development. It really only began in 1870, when the new Germany was formed, and obtained capital from France in the £200,000,000 war indemnity, the iron mines of Lorraine, and the cotton spindles of Alsace, together with the revenue from the million and a half inhabitants of the annexed provinces. From that time remarkable progress was made in agriculture, industry, and means of communication. Indeed, it has been said that Imperial Germany was a triumph of Art over Nature. She *made* herself prosperous by thrift, organisation, and hard work.

No task seemed too difficult or too hopeless, and all must admire the success of a people who, starting late in their national life, attained such a high position in the world of commerce. Unfortunately, *Deutschland über Alles* as an economic policy backed by military enterprise took little account of those other factors upon which the peace of the



31.—GERMANY—ECONOMIC.

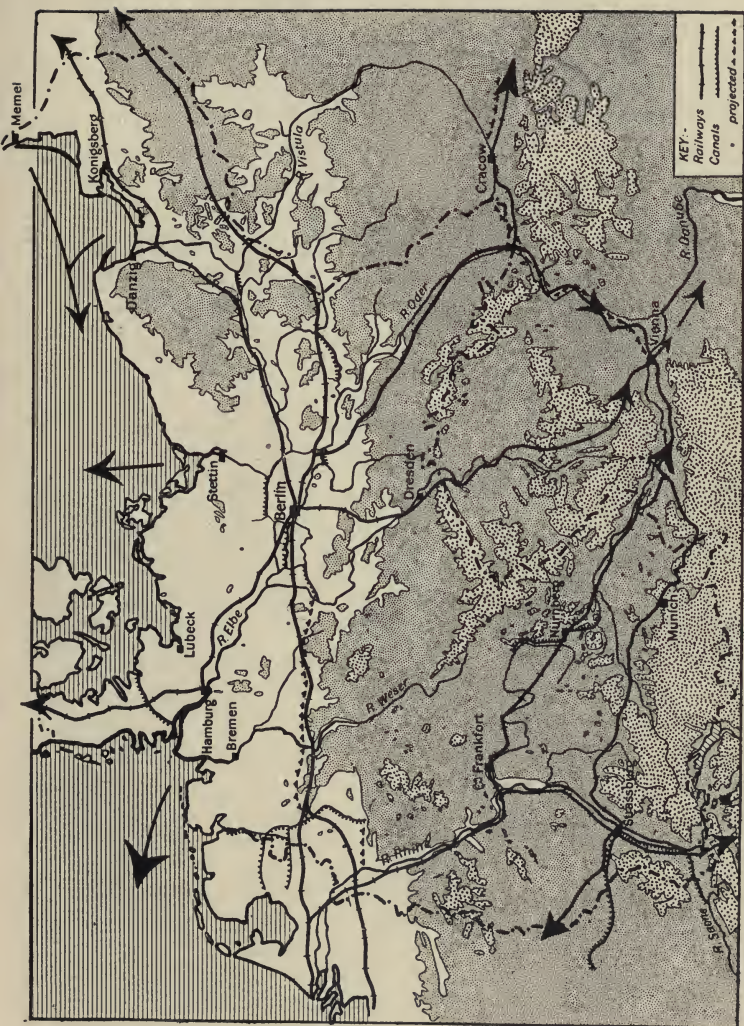
world depends—the right of other people to live and to determine their own economic life and policy.

The mining and industrial areas of Westphalia, the Harz district, Saxony and Silesia, separated the two agricultural areas of Prussia in the north-east, Bavaria and Württemberg in the south-west. These two regions differ entirely both in productions and people. The former is inhabited by Prussians whose origin is enigmatical, and who

belong neither to the Teutonic nor Slavonic races. They adopted a military form of Protestantism, and succeeded in establishing their authority over the Germanic peoples. The land was, and to some extent is still, held in large estates by the Junkers or landlords, who either cultivated it themselves or sublet to tenant farmers. These Junkers represented the great agricultural trusts of Prussia, and were a military caste from which the officers of the army were drawn. The chief crops of this region are wheat on the Middle Elbe; oats, rye, flax, and hemp in Prussia; potatoes for food and distillation in Pomerania. Horses are reared in East Prussia; sheep in Posen and Silesia; cattle on the Elbe lowlands and in Holstein.

The people of South Germany are to a great extent Germanised Kelts, the descendants of Franks, Swabians, and Bavarians, who with the French represented the best thought and civilisation of the Middle Ages. These people, too, gained by the liberating influence of Napoleon, and in a democratic twentieth century stand on a higher plane than the Prussians who, under Bismarck and William II., succeeded in dominating German politics. The southern lands are held by peasant proprietors, and agriculture has been highly developed. The climate is less severe than in the north-east; the vine flourishes on the Middle Rhine and in Alsace; wheat grows in Bavaria and Würtemberg; sugar-beet in the Middle Elbe valley.

Of the four industrial centres of Imperial Germany, Westphalia, Saxony, Silesia, and Alsace-Lorraine, the first was by far the most important. This was due to the abundance of coal in the Ruhr valley, the iron supplies of the Westerwald and Lorraine, and the nearness of the sea by which raw materials came. The chief towns are Essen and Solingen for iron and steel; Düsseldorf, Barmen, and Elberfeld for textiles; Aachen and Dortmund for woollens; and Crefeld for silk. The grant of this important region to Prussia by the Congress of Vienna (1815) did more than anything else to make her the most powerful of all the Germanic states. Saxony (Chemnitz,



32.—GERMANY—COMMUNICATIONS.
 (Heights shown above 100 metres and 500 metres.)

Zwickau, and Gorlitz) and Silesia (Breslau), on account of the excellent system of waterways and railways, imported raw materials and exported manufactured goods to an extent which gave these places more than a local importance. Industrial centres are the strongholds of Socialism, and consequently democratic Germany west of the Elbe was strongly opposed on most political problems to aristocratic Prussian Germany east of that river—an opposition which accounted for the sudden collapse of the military system and the abdication of the Kaiser in November, 1918, when the fortunes of war turned definitely against Germany.

German railways were state-owned, and constructed to a large extent for military purposes, though, of course, they could be used for trade where required. Great international lines also crossed the country from west to east and from north-west to south-east, making Germany an international depot and exchange. Rivers flow in general from south to north, and have not only been “canalised,” but connected with each other by east-west canals following old river courses. An excellent system of waterways thus developed, enabling heavy goods to be carried cheaply from place to place.

The excellent system of technical education, the training which compulsory military service gave, the thoroughness of the German workman, the utilisation of science in industry, the excellent network of roads, railways, and waterways, and state assistance to industry in the form of low freights and preferential tariffs, increased the output of the country and raised it to the second place in the industrial world. Germany specialised in certain industries, as aniline dyes and electrical apparatus, and in these she was unrivalled. Commercial expansion was sought no less eagerly than territorial or colonial expansion, and immediately prior to the outbreak of the war in 1914 elaborate schemes had been formulated by manufacturers and statesmen for the capture of world trade.

Austria-Hungary.

Austria-Hungary had abundant resources, pastoral, agricultural, and mineral. The Hungarian steppes, particularly round Debreczin, form good pasture for horse-rearing, the pusztas for stock-raising. Between the Theiss and Maros rivers are rich wheatlands, while maize can be cultivated between Lake Balaton and the Drave River, tobacco and rice in the Banat. The Carpathians yield enormous supplies of timber, the Tatra Mountains and Transylvanian Alps iron, gold, and silver. Galicia has the greatest salt mines in the world, as well as pasture for sheep and cattle. South of the River Dniester are valuable oil wells, in addition to rich grazing lands and areas where flax and hemp may be successfully grown. The Slavonic states of the south-west are not so rich. Beech and oak forests encourage the keeping of pigs, and the grassy hill slopes the rearing of sheep. In the more sheltered valleys wheat, maize, and even tobacco, are cultivated, and the Adriatic coastal plain yields here and there the vine, cherry, olive, and almond. The mountain districts of Austria proper and Bohemia constitute the mining and manufacturing areas—salt at Salzburg; the iron of Eisenerz (iron ore) in Styria and of the Erz Gebirge (ore mountains) in Bohemia giving rise to the manufacture of iron and steel goods at Graz, Steyr, and Prague; textiles at Brunn and Pilsen, the latter being also the centre of the brewing industry of Bohemia, which is specially suited to the growing of hops.

It would have been thought that with such resources Austria-Hungary would have maintained in the new economic Europe the position she held at the Congress of Vienna. But she was severely handicapped by her struggles with Prussia, by her race problems, and by her lack of outlets to the world beyond. We have seen how Sadowa compelled her to give place to Prussia in the leadership of Germany. We have also seen the difficulties she experienced in the revolutions of 1830

and 1848 on account of the national movements within her border. Germans in Austria, Magyars in Hungary, Czechs in Bohemia, Poles in Galicia, and Slavs in the south-west, fostered their nationality rather than sank their differences. Consequently, Vienna, instead of being the centre of a united, consolidated empire, became the meeting-place of divergent interests.



33. — AUSTRIA-HUNGARY—RACIAL.

"The Hungarian Core."

Means of communication in Austria presented difficulties of no less importance. Like Germany, she was the centre of a network of international railways from the European plain to the Balkan peninsula, and from Italy to Russia, so that Vienna in this respect may be compared with Berlin. The Danube, *the* river of Austria, like the Rhine, *the* German river, flows in its lower course through the territory of a foreign power,

and German ambition in the direction of Belgium and Holland may be compared with Austrian aims in Bulgaria and Roumania. The short coast-line with the ports of Trieste and Fiume was far too small for the needs of the country, and the difficulty increased first by the fact that certain parts of the old Venetian republic desired to be included within the kingdom



34.—AUSTRIA-HUNGARY—POLITICAL.

INSTRUCTION: To obtain an illustration of the Racial Problems of Austria-Hungary, make a transparent tracing of Map 33, and superimpose on the above map.

of Italy, and second because Italy and the Balkan powers controlled the outlet of the Adriatic. Here, again, we may compare Austria's difficulties with those of her great ally Germany, who also chafed under a short coast-line, the Schleswig portion of which desired reunion with Denmark, and whose outlet to the Atlantic was under the control of England and France. In the great struggle of nations, there-

fore, during the period of pre-war economic expansion, we may look upon Germany and Austria as fighting back to back for the same objects: the one coast-line and outlets to the north; the other to the south.

Italy.

Italy's position in the great problems of Europe was both unique and difficult. She stood between the land powers of Germany and Austria and the Mediterranean sea powers of France and Britain; and though she joined the former in the Triple Alliance, she did not feel justified in taking the side of the Central Powers in the Great War which opened in 1914. She depends far too much for textiles, iron and steel goods upon foreign countries to risk a war with the powers holding the Mediterranean. Economically she is poor. Minerals are absent, except iron in Elba, and sulphur in the neighbourhood of Vesuvius, Etna, and Stromboli. The country is purely agricultural, and her manufactures—woollens at Turin, cutlery at Milan, iron and steel at Milan, Bergamo, Brescia, and Turin—depend upon imported coal and raw materials. The future, however, holds out a brighter prospect for industrial Italy in the utilisation of electric power generated by the mountain streams and torrents of the Alps and Apennines. The one industry in which Italy excels is the manufacture of silk goods, the chief towns for which are Turin, Milan, and Bergamo. In Italy population pressed severely on subsistence, with the result that large numbers emigrated, particularly to the Argentine and Paraguay.

Russia.

Russia naturally lagged behind both France and Germany in industrial activities. She was later in freeing her serfs (after the Crimean War, 1854), and still later in granting political liberty and organising education and industry (after the Russo-Japanese War, 1905). These matters really only began

to receive attention in the years immediately preceding 1914, and in Russia it is possible to see a mighty nation throwing off its mediævalism and becoming a modern federation of states. For centuries she was regarded as outside Europe, and not until she divided Poland with Prussia and Austria and marched her armies across Europe to Paris in the overthrow of Napoleon did she really take her place among the Great Powers.

To the peoples of the West the concentration of power—political, social, and military—in the hands of an autocrat gave a false impression of the homogeneous character of the Russians. The events which followed the abdication of the Czar during the Great War showed that Russia comprised a number of divergent peoples, desirous of self-government. A vegetation map will show a wedge of deciduous forest pushing in between the coniferous forests of the north and the grasslands of the south. The natural forest is largely cleared and put under cultivation by Slavonic peoples, possibly from the upland districts of Bohemia and the Carpathians. In the west the Poles, by their conversion to Roman Catholicism, had associations with the Empire rather than with the principalities of Russia; in the centre the Pripet marshes to the south, the lake-studded glaciated areas bordering the Baltic, and the swamp region east of Smolensk, whence so many rivers take their rise, served to isolate the "White Russians" and give them a distinctive character. Eastwards, and still within the deciduous forest, the Slavs extended their clearings, the "Great Russians" encroaching on the coniferous forests to the north and the grasslands to the south, particularly in the direction of Kiev and Odessa and round the Pripet marshes.

From time immemorial nomadic horsemen held control of the grassland area, but the encroachments of Russian settlers towards the south-west and the occupation of the south and south-east by Cossacks from the borders of Poland have driven the purely nomadic peoples to the semi-desert regions of

Kirghiz. To the north, between the Slavs of the forest zone and the shores of the Baltic, a number of races have survived from prehistoric times in the swamp and lake-girt lands, and during the general upheavals of the past few years have asserted their independence. Such are the Finns—the bulk of whom live in the deciduous forest region at the southern extremity of the Finland peninsula—the Letts, and the Lithuanians. These six groups—(i.) Finns, (ii.) Letto-Lithuanians, (iii.) White Russians, (iv.) Great Russians (v.) Ukrainians, (vi.) Don Cossacks—represent the principal racial divisions of Imperial Russia. Prior to the war, however, there was every appearance of these being welded together into a powerful industrial state on the lines of Germany and Austria-Hungary.

After 1878 Russia was caught in the industrialism which characterised the activities of other nations, and was drawn more and more into European affairs. She saw the necessity of developing her abundant agricultural and mineral resources, the capital for which she borrowed largely from France and Britain. To pay back interest and principal it was necessary to increase her crops and sell the surplus in foreign markets. The flow of gold eastwards and of food crops westwards inevitably brought Russia into the great commercial world which had grown up after 1870.

A necessary preliminary to any progress was railway construction: for although the map shows the rivers as an excellent system of waterways, they are really not so valuable as they appear, since they are ice-bound in winter, shallow and obstructed with sandbanks in summer. The one man in Russia who may be compared with Napoleon in France and Bismarck in Germany as organisers of their country is Witte. He was a railway man, and the great schemes of railway construction after 1881 were largely carried out under his guidance. Here, as in other countries, they were constructed for military purposes, though at the same time they facilitated the export

of wheat and other crops and increased the trade between the vegetation zones into which Russia is divided.

The far north is barren tundra, but immediately to the south and extending to a line from lat. 50° in the west to 56° in the Urals is the forest zone of pines and other conifers in the north and deciduous trees in the south. The Russians for centuries lived in the clearings of these deciduous forests, gradually cutting down the trees and turning the land to agriculture. Until comparatively recently the "black earth" region and natural grassland was held by Tartars and other nomadic peoples. With the overthrow of these tribes and the establishment of Imperial rule a gradual exodus of Russians took place from the forest to the grasslands, and Russian peasants have not only commenced a great wheat industry, but have rapidly extended eastwards along the grassy road in the direction opposite to that taken by the early invaders of Europe, founding colonies on the high plains of Siberia. The rapidity and extent of the expansion may be interestingly compared with that of the American colonists pushing through the forests of the Appalachians and spreading over the grasslands beyond.

The "black earth" zone is one of the great wheat lands of the future; Odessa is the chief grain port, and from the map you may see how important it was to Russia that the Bosphorus and Dardanelles should always be free as the outlet of this most important agricultural area. Towards the south-east, beyond the left bank of the Volga, lie the steppes, areas which provide pasture for roaming herds of cattle and horses. Transcaucasia—the land beyond the Caucasus—has an entirely different climate from the Russia plain, which, as we have already said, is ice-bound in winter. There the soil and climate are suited to fruit-growing and intensive cultivation.

Vast as are the forest, agricultural, and pastoral products of Eastern Europe, mining and manufactures are no less important, not because of their present extent, but because of

their possibilities. In Poland and the Moscow region are important cotton towns, the cotton for the latter area being grown in Turkestan. In the Donetz valley and at Perm and Ekaterinburg are iron and steel works, while Transcaucasia is one of the largest oil-producing regions of the world. Little wonder that serious thinkers should have looked upon Russia, with her 173 millions of population and her enormous resources, as the Great Power of the future when she had become fully organised on the European model.

Thus did Europe during the period 1870-1914 become a hive of industry, nations great and small pursuing with feverish activity the arts of peace. Always, however, there was present a national "sensitiveness" to the slightest sign of danger, and the dark shadow of war hung overhead, till in the late summer of 1914 the storm-cloud burst.

RECAPITULATION

The Great Powers—France, Germany, Austria-Hungary, Russia, and Italy—formed the real Europe. France was largely agricultural and almost self-supporting, and her excellent system of railways and waterways converged on Paris, the capital. Germany was a triumph of Art over Nature. There were three occupational zones—(i.) the Junker-owned agricultural lands east of the Elbe; (ii.) the industrial belt of Westphalia, Saxony, and Silesia; (iii.) the agricultural peasant holdings of South Germany. Germany, too, had excellent waterways and railways, to some extent focussing on Berlin. Austria-Hungary had abundant resources, but was handicapped by her race problems and lack of harbours. Italy was unfortunate both in her political position and the paucity of her mineral resources. Russia, though she lagged behind Western Europe, was beginning to adopt the industrialism of the West and make use of her enormous agricultural, pastoral, and mineral resources.

QUESTIONS

1. What part have Alsace and Lorraine played in the economic struggle between France and Germany?

2. Germany consists broadly of three occupational divisions—(i.) the agricultural regions of Prussia; (ii.) the industrial areas of Westphalia, Saxony, and Silesia; (iii.) the agricultural and semi-industrial areas of South Germany. Describe the social life in each of these divisions prior to 1914. Contrast (i.) and (iii.) historically and racially; (i.) and (ii.) socially and economically.

CHAPTER XVIII

WORLD PROBLEMS

HITHERTO we have merely studied the industrial activities of the Great Powers at home. We now turn to those equally great problems which made the history of Europe the history of the world. In the first chapter we saw how the horsemen and herdsmen of Asia entered Europe through the wide gate between the southern extremity of the Urals and the Nile delta. As a result of new environment and the hammer-blows received from new invaders, they became a society of boatmen and ploughmen broadly divided into two groups corresponding with the northern and southern river systems. The history of the Middle Ages has largely to do with the conflicts of these two groups, or the resistance of both against further invasions from outside. The great movements of the century following the French Revolution divided European society into well-marked nations, which thenceforth became industrial groups, with all their resources in process of development and organisation. It is interesting to note how the horsemen and herdsmen of Asia became the boatmen and ploughmen of Europe, and these in turn the merchants and highly skilled agriculturists and craftsmen. Through these the influence of Europe has not only travelled on with the peoples going west across the Atlantic to influence in a remarkable degree the New World island, but has also run counter to the east-west migration of peoples and penetrated to the farthest limits of the Old World island.

The "iron horse" displaced the horse of the nomad; the steamship "the ship of the desert"; and in four definite direc-



35.—THE SEA EMPIRE AND THE LAND EMPIRE.

Note the Inner and Outer Colonial Belts, and the main point of contact of the two empires in the Land of the Five Seas. The United States, as part of the English-speaking world, is shown thus: [dotted pattern].

tions—the Far East, Central Asia, the Near East, and Africa—the penetration of European powers operated from the land and from the sea, often giving rise to serious difficulties where the two forces met, as in China, Afghanistan, Persia, the Upper Nile, etc. These activities are almost entirely limited to the Old World, since Australasia was definitely settled by the British, and the United States stood guard over America.

If it were possible to pick out two powers representative of this outward movement from Europe by land and water, we should choose Imperial Russia, the “Colossus of the North,” and Britain, the “Empress of the Waves.” There is more than a passing interest in the fact that while Drake and his sea-dogs sailed the western main laying the foundations of the British Empire, Yermak and his robber bands of Cossacks rode over the eastern plain paving the way for the annexation and colonisation of Siberia by the Russians. From the sixteenth century to the outbreak of the Great War (1914) Britain and Russia each pursued its separate policy: one the *land* power, establishing itself on the broad northern plains of Eurasia and then working southwards; the other a *sea* power, becoming mistress of the seas, establishing an outer line of English-speaking peoples in America and Australasia and an inner line on the coasts of the Old World—bases from which to work inland. The sequel will be shown in the next chapter.

Britain and Russia were not the only countries which sought new territories and “spheres of influence,” certainly not after 1870, nor has the policy followed by each state been consistent throughout these years. Nevertheless, it is possible to follow the great movements which, though impeded, sometimes possibly clouded by others of lesser import, indicated a definite line of state policy. The causes of these diversions from a definite forward policy are to be found in the domestic problems which confronted each European state and the new international problems which sprang out of mutual suspicions, evidenced in increasing armies for the defence of frontiers, and

increasing navies for the maintenance of power at sea. With the domestic affairs of each country we have here little to do, but something must be said of what afterwards developed into the twofold division of the powers of Europe into the Triple Alliance and the Triple Entente.

German Policy.

The first necessity for foreign trade is good harbours, both for depth of water and for position relative to trade and internal and external lines of communication. Britain and France, with a long coast-line open to the Atlantic, are in this respect particularly fortunate. Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Russia, suffered for lack of them. For this reason Germany desired above all things the co-operation of Belgium, Holland, and Denmark, which would give her the use of a long North and Baltic Sea coast. She also supported her ally Austria in the attempt to work her way through to Salonica and Asia Minor, so that the Germanic races and their subjugated peoples might stretch, like the French, from the North Sea to the Mediterranean and have trade connections with the East. Russia, too, had similar desires, and was therefore a menace to Sweden in the Baltic and Turkey in the Eastern Mediterranean, where alone she could obtain the warm-water ports so necessary for trade during the cold winter months when Archangel, Riga, and Odessa are frozen.

The naval policy of Germany after 1890 had the same effect on the sea powers that her military policy of 1870 had on the land powers. The policy of Bismarck had been to consolidate the empire and leave almost entirely out of consideration the annexation of colonies. Germany, therefore, took little part in the scramble for Africa in the "eighties," and not until Kaiser William II. "dropped the pilot" and took over the control of affairs himself did she seek an overseas empire. Thus, after 1890 the Kaiser wished to add to the Imperial title obtained for his family in 1870 the trident of

sea power. Frederick the Great had taught the Prussians to march; William would teach them to swim. The aggressive policy adopted to accomplish this object was naturally viewed with concern by the great colonial powers, Britain and France, who jointly held also the Straits of Dover, the only practicable outlet for Germany to any overseas possession. Gradually Prussia alienated her traditional friend Britain, and forced her to seek the friendship of France, a traditional foe. The "entente cordiale" of 1904 was the reply to German "navalism."

The similar policy of Austria in adopting an aggressive attitude in the Balkan peninsula to obtain an outlet at Salonica destroyed the Balkan League of 1912, prevented a peaceful settlement of that part of Europe in 1913, and paved a way for the Great War of 1914. Thus the military policy of Germany and Austria united France and Russia in the Dual Alliance; their naval policy, France and Britain in the "entente." Out of these two sprang the "Triple Entente," the reply to the "Triple Alliance."

Colonial Expansion.

We now turn to the problems of annexation and expansion. In colonisation, as in all other great movements, the French led the way. They endeavoured to revive the glories which had been shattered at Sedan and Metz by building up a world empire. The first need was to obtain new homes for those inhabitants of Alsace and Lorraine who refused to pass under German rule. The obvious course was to develop the Mediterranean lands of North Africa, where already the French had obtained a footing, and by a closer annexation of Algeria to France there commenced that incorporation of the Mediterranean lands of Africa which has made the Mediterranean once more a European lake. The union of Algeria with France, and the later expansion eastwards to Tunis and westwards to Morocco, were by no means the extent of French

ambition. With a population scarcely increasing, there was no desire, as in the case of England, Germany, and Russia, for an empire of settlement, but merely an empire of rule—a



36.—THE SCRAMBLE FOR AFRICA.

Note the route of the Cape-Cairo Railway and the importance of the position of German East Africa.

sovereignty over peoples and races for their own good and the glory of France. She was eminently successful in Indo-China and Madagascar, but her real sphere of work lay in Africa.

Leaving till later the consideration of the states from

Morocco to Egypt as being more European than African, the whole of the continent south of the Sahara became a bone of contention among the Powers of Europe. The "scramble for Africa" resulted in the sharing out of practically the whole continent, with very little regard for the native races. Exploration parties and military missions penetrated the dense forests or traversed the grassy plains, adding territory and glory to their respective countries. The two Powers which obtained most in the scramble were France and Britain, the former annexing the greater part of the north and the latter the south. Germany, as we have said, was too busy consolidating the new empire under the guidance of Bismarck to obtain much of Africa, and it was not until that statesman was dismissed and William II. took over the management of affairs that Germany entered seriously on the task of obtaining colonies. Then she was too late for Africa, though on two occasions she nearly went to war with France on the question of Morocco. As we shall see, she sought *her* expansion in the Far and Near East.

British Colonisation.

Here it may be well to give some account of the influence of French colonial activities on Great Britain. Our Empire may be divided into two parts—(1) the Empire of Settlement, (2) the Empire of Rule. The former consists of the self-governing dominions of Canada, Newfoundland, Australia, New Zealand, and the Union of South Africa. In these regions, particularly in all but the last, many of the social and industrial problems of Europe were present, but less acute, with the result that there flowed from the British Isles a steady stream of emigrants of a type which became a real acquisition to the Dominions. In a narrow sense there was a tendency to cut adrift from the Mother Country, though many realised what the war has emphasised—viz., the value and need for a close co-operation, not only of certain groups of states, but of the

Empire as a whole. The colonies of Australia formed a Commonwealth in 1900, and those of South Africa a Union in 1910. The King's Speech at the opening of the first Parliament after the cessation of hostilities indicates the further progress made during the war towards that closer bond of the whole Empire, which has been the dream of statesmen.

“The Imperial War Cabinet has been in continuous session, and my counsels in regard to the war and external affairs have been both strengthened and enlightened by the presence of the leading ministers of my self-governing Dominions and of representatives of my Indian Empire.”

The influence of France, however, on our Empire of Rule was very great, and from 1870 onwards the British Empire extended its protection over many new lands, Africa, of course, being the chief area to which attention was directed. Three trading companies received charters granting them special privileges in exploiting and developing new lands under the British flag, thereby offering a check to the encroachments of other powers. They were the Royal Niger Company (1886), the British South Africa Company (1888), and the British East Africa Company (1888). Two of these have already been bought out and their lands formed into the colonies of Nigeria (1900) and Uganda (1894), while the charter of the third would have been reconsidered in 1914 but for the outbreak of war. The question has been postponed for a time, but there is little doubt that Southern Rhodesia at least will be granted new conditions of government. In Africa, as elsewhere, Britain established protectorates over native states—*i.e.*, she offered protection in return for the control over foreign affairs. The accompanying table shows the extent to which British colonisation went under the stimulus from French colonial enterprise.

Colonial Crises.

It was inevitable that difficulties over spheres of influence and boundaries of colonies should arise. In 1898 England and

France came very near to war over such a difficulty. A French officer Marchand penetrated the Sudan from the Congo to Fashoda (Kodok), on the banks of the Nile, which he reached a few days before the Sirdar of Egypt, Sir Herbert Kitchener, who had pushed his operations up that river after defeating the forces of the Mahdi at Omdurman. Marchand was surrounded by dervishes and would probably have perished but for the timely arrival of British and Egyptian troops. This, together with the fact that the Khedive claimed priority of occupation on the grounds that it had only been evacuated through stress of circumstances in 1885, and that the possession of the head waters of the Nile was essential to the power holding Egypt proper, decided Kitchener in protesting against the tri-colour flying over the fort of Fashoda. The dispute was amicably settled by the governments at home, and France withdrew her claims to what then became Anglo-Egyptian Sudan.

The settlement of the differences between Britain and France was gradually attained by mutual concessions and a common danger. The treaty of 1904 removed all difficulties, not only in the Sudan, but also in Morocco, West Africa, Siam, and the New Hebrides, as well as the irritation over the Newfoundland fishing rights. It was then possible to arrange an "entente" which, as we have seen, changed the politics of Europe. France allowed Britain a free hand in Egypt; Britain and Italy offered no opposition to France in Morocco; while Britain and France adopted a policy of non-interference in Italy's designs on Tripoli. The opposition which Germany showed to France in Morocco in 1905 and 1911 was removed by the strength of the "entente" and by a cession of part of the French Congo to the Cameroons. Thus the declaration of a British protectorate over Egypt in 1914, when Turkey entered the war, completed the annexations by which North Africa became shared out among the three great Mediterranean powers, Britain, France, and Italy.

TABLE SHOWING COLONISING ACTIVITY OF GREAT BRITAIN AFTER 1870.*

1874 1878	Fiji Islands Cyprus	Ceded by native chiefs. Assigned conditionally to Britain by Turkey; an- nexed 1914.	1888	Rhodesia	Declared British territory, and granted for 25 years to the BRITISH SOUTH AFRICA COMPANY.
1881	North Borneo	Ceded by the Sultan to the BRITISH NORTH BORNEO COMPANY.	1888	Sarawak	Ceded by native rulers to Rajah Brooke and his successors.
1882	Egypt	Occupied by request of Khedive; Protectorate de- clared under native Sultan 1914.	1891	Nyasaland	Voluntarily placed under British protection.
1884 1885 1885	Somaland Bechuanaland Southern Nigeria	A Protectorate declared. A Protectorate declared. Ceded by native chiefs and united with colony of Lagos 1906.	1894	Gambia (Protec- torate)	Purchased, ceded, or an- nexed.
1886	Northern Nigeria	Granted to the ROYAL NIGER COMPANY; brought under the Crown 1900; and united with Lagos and Southern Nigeria 1912.	1895	Federated Malay States (<i>Perak</i> , <i>Selangor</i> , <i>Pahang</i> , <i>Negeri Sembilan</i>) Western Pacific High Commis- sion (<i>Friendly Is- lands</i> , <i>Ellice</i> and <i>Gilbert Islands</i> , <i>Solomon Islands</i> , <i>Sanla Cruz Is- lands</i> , and others)	Foreign relations handed over by native chiefs.
1888	Sierra Leone	Ceded or sold by native chiefs; Protectorate de- clared over the hinterland 1896.	1898	Wei-hai-wei	A British Protectorate established.
1888	Uganda and British East Africa	Ceded to Britain; granted to the BRITISH EAST AFRICA COMPANY; govern- ment transferred to Crown 1894-95.	1899 1901 1909	Hong-Kong Ashanti and North- ern Territories Straits Settlements (<i>Johore</i> , <i>Kedah</i> , <i>Perlis</i> , <i>Kelantan</i> , and <i>Trengganu</i>)	Leased from China. Additional territory ceded. Annexed. Ceded by Siam.
1888	Brunei	Made over by the Sultan.			

* In some cases, as in West Africa, trading privileges and small territorial possessions existed before the date given.

While Africa had been a debatable land among the nations of the West, Russia, her progress for the time being barred westward and south-westward by the Germanic policy of the Triple Alliance, turned towards Asia, where she strengthened her hold in the steppes of Turkestan and the plains of Siberia. Prior to the Treaty of Berlin she had acquired the regions round Tashkend, Samarkand, Khiva, and Khokand. Backed as was this advance by railway construction, British statesmen regarded it as a menace to India, and after much hesitancy and much blundering the British Government decided to make such terms with Afghanistan that it would become a kind of *Mark* of India and the Ameer a *Mark-graf*. The direct conflict of Britain and Russia was thus avoided and their energies "side-tracked" somewhat into Persia, which was divided into "spheres of influence."

While Russia had been eminently successful in Central Asia, and had added to her empire vast areas suitable for cotton, wheat, and the vine, she pursued steadily and persistently her march through the wheatland of Siberia to the mineral regions of China, where the outlying provinces also offered large fields for colonisation and outlets to the ocean. She was not allowed to exploit this part of the globe unchallenged by other Europeans; for as Africa became more and more definitely partitioned, the Western powers, with their large shipping and commercial interests, turned their attention also to the Far East. China was thus invaded—peacefully—from the land by Russia and from the sea by Britain, France, and Germany. In all matters relative to China, however, the Japanese had to be taken into account. Not only did they resent European intrusion into Western Pacific waters, but they regarded China as the only real outlet for their increasing population. It is a matter of life and death for Japan to find new colonies, and this necessity makes her a menace to Pacific countries. Canada, the United States of America, and Australia, all have strict regulations regarding "yellow"



37.—THE PROBLEMS OF ASIA.

immigration into their territories. It is little wonder, therefore, that China regards the approaches of Japan for rights and concessions with no little suspicion and much fear.

The struggle between small, well-equipped, determined Japan and big, backward, hesitating, and disunited China was Europe's opportunity. The war of 1894 proved most disastrous to China, and in the treaty which followed she was compelled to cede to Japan the Liao-Tung peninsula and the island of Formosa, at the same time promising to pay a large indemnity. Russia, France, and Germany now stepped in and ordered Japan to surrender Liao-Tung peninsula, on the ground that the possession of Port Arthur threatened the independence of Peking. Japan, of course, had no alternative but to submit, and wait her time. The powers of Europe had not acted from disinterested motives. Russia obtained permission to take a branch of the trans-Siberian Railway through Manchuria, and after the murder of two German missionaries in 1897 China was compelled to lease the port and district of Kiao-Chow to Germany, Port Arthur to Russia, and Wei-hai-wei to Britain.

The disintegration of China had begun, and Russia obtained the lion's, or rather the bear's, share. Meanwhile Japan, robbed of what she considered her lawful prey, armed herself in true European fashion and waited. Her opportunity came in 1904, when she declared war on Russia, who delayed to evacuate Manchuria according to promise. It seemed impossible for a small nation to defeat the "Colossus of the North," but circumstances were in her favour. The war was unpopular in Russia, where revolutions were in the air. The long railway across Siberia was inadequate for the purpose, and the campaign was mismanaged from beginning to end. By her defeat Russia had to withdraw from Korea and Manchuria, which passed under Japanese suzerainty, and her irresistible progress was diverted into Mongolia. The effect at home was even greater. The Czar realised that the time

had come when he must make a virtue of necessity and grant to his people some form of constitutional government. Accordingly, Russians were invited to elect members to a parliament—a Duma. All new laws and taxation should receive the assent of the representatives of the people. Unfortunately, the results were disappointing, the government overriding the



Japanese Territory Russian Territory China and Dependencies

37a.—THE STRATEGIC CENTRE IN THE FAR EAST.

Duma until its power was negligible. Still, 1905 marked the dawn of a new Russia, out of which grew the revolution of 1917, the assassination of the Czar, faction rule and "Bolshevism."

Though Japan had been successful against Imperial Russia, she saw clearly that she must seek an ally among her Western foes. The one power from whom she had little to fear was

Britain, and an alliance with her might be of mutual advantage. Accordingly, an Anglo-Japanese alliance was arranged both for offensive and defensive purposes. In consequence, Japan joined the Allies against Germany, and rendered valuable aid in capturing Kiao-Chou and guarding the North Pacific waters. Under the stimulus of war her industries have increased enormously and rendered more urgent her need for raw materials. The untold wealth of China in the iron, coal, and minerals required in modern machine industry seemed a legitimate field for exploitation in view of the demands of war. Thus serious problems affecting the well-being of the world have arisen between Japan and China.

The Chinese Republic of 1912 is stronger than the dynasty it displaced, but is hampered by internal dissensions and foreign diplomacy. The uncertainty of her future is one of the perils of the new age. To a world of friends she may offer of her riches; to a world of foes her teeming millions may turn her abundant resources into a terrible engine of war and hurl defiance at her enemies. This is "the yellow peril" should there be a recurrence of history and the armies of Asia pour into Europe and her navies attack the eastern shores of the Pacific.

RECAPITULATION

The history of Europe after 1870 became the history of the world, particularly that of the Old World. Russia, expanding by great land routes through Asia, came into political conflict with Britain, who, by her command of the sea, maintained a hold on the southern promontory peninsulas. In Africa, France overflowed to North Africa, where her interests clashed with those of Britain, who held the South. The Central Powers of Europe—Germany and Austria-Hungary—by their military policy, compelled an alliance between Russia and France, and by their naval policy an "entente cordiale" between Britain and France, while their colonial policy—the exploitation of Asia Minor, Syria, and Mesopo-

tamia—clashed with the interests of Britain, France, and Russia. The rising power of Japan complicated the Far Eastern problems, which may develop from a struggle between China and Japan to a mightier conflict between East and West.

QUESTIONS

1. Give a general account of European penetration into China. What has been the attitude of Japan? Give reasons for her policy.
2. On a map show the possessions and spheres of influence of Britain and France in Africa. Show in what regions their interests conflict, and how.

CHAPTER XIX

THE NEAR EAST

WE have seen that the great economic changes which came about after 1870 were accompanied by annexation and exploration in all parts of the earth, especially in Africa and Eastern Asia. After encircling the globe with cables and steamship routes the states of Europe, towards the opening of the twentieth century, directed their attention to lands nearer home—the possessions of the Sultan of Turkey in both Europe and Asia. Hitherto the problems of Turkey presenting themselves to statesmen had been connected with the struggles for independence of the Christian states in Europe (Chapters XI. and XIV.). Now the vast Asiatic possessions of the Turk assumed a commercial value, and to the race problems of the Balkan peninsula were added the economic and political problems of Turkey-in-Asia. The Near East Question broadened beyond the struggles of petty states, of which the Great Powers were interested spectators, to the rivalry of commercial companies supported, and in some cases, controlled by their respective governments. This chapter will be devoted to an account of the continued movements towards nationality of which the years 1821-1829, 1854-1856, and 1875-1878, are but landmarks, while the next chapter will deal with the "peaceful penetration" into Asiatic Turkey by the Powers, through concessions to various companies for constructive works—railways, harbours, and irrigation canals. It must be kept in mind that though for convenience the two movements are here studied separately, they are simultaneous and, indeed, very closely connected. From the Treaty of Berlin, 1878, to



38.—THE “GERMANIC WEDGE” (PREVIOUS TO 1912).

Note (1) the pressure of the sea-powers on this “wedge”; Britain and France from the west and south-west, Russia and Britain from the north and the east; (2) the barrier of the Balkan States (shown thus: Roumania, Bulgaria, Serbia, Greece, Montenegro), and the position of Serbia with that barrier; (3) how great possibilities opened up through the defection of Bulgaria from the Balkan League.

the outbreak of the Balkan War, 1912, the principles of nationality and freedom had taken an increasingly strong hold on the peoples of the Balkan peninsula, but, unfortunately for the success of the small states, the "influence-advances" of Austria and Russia had hardened into definite policies: one pan-German, to drive "a Germanic wedge reaching from Hamburg to the Persian Gulf"; the other, pan-Slav, to bar such an advance by creating in the Balkans independent Slav states in which Russian influence would be supreme, perhaps even re-establishing the ancient Eastern Roman Empire (with its capital, Constantinople) in a modified form under the protection or sovereignty of the Czar, at once the head of the Slav race and of the Greek Church.

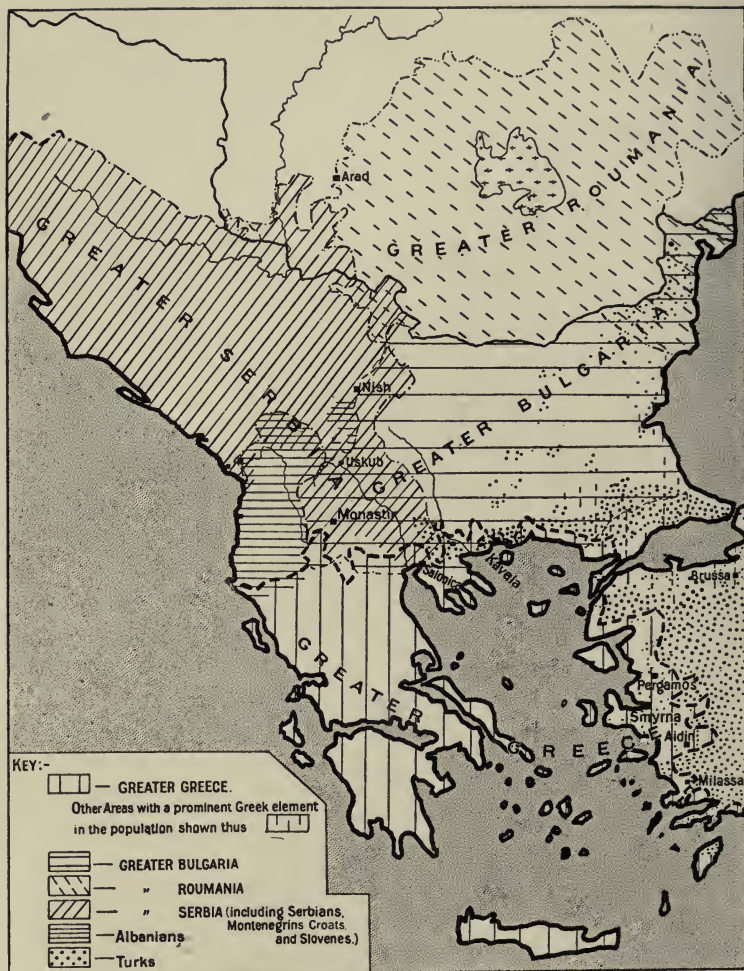
At the opening of the nineteenth century only Austria, Russia, France, and Great Britain had an interest in the affairs of the Balkan peninsula. Italy and Germany were at that time but "geographical expressions." After 1870 these two countries became "interested" in the Near East—Italy because of the Adriatic and the Eastern Mediterranean, Germany because it would serve as an outlet to the south for her increasing activity. Moreover, in proportion as Austria lost her prestige in the Germanic states and her possessions in Italy, so she turned more decidedly towards the south-east. Italy and Austria had much in common. Both strongly opposed the rise of a Slav state with a long sea-front to the Adriatic, and the growth of the naval power of Greece, which would hamper, if not threaten, the advances of these two countries in the *Ægean*. To Germany, Austria's friendship, as we have seen in a previous chapter, was of paramount importance in case of attack from Russia or France, while at the same time the "forward policy" of Vienna received support from Berlin as offering new fields of trade and influence in the Mediterranean.

"Greater" Balkan States.

The small struggling states, however, had no desire to throw off the yoke of the Turk only to lose their hard-won independence under the "protection" of one or other of their powerful neighbours. They therefore endeavoured to increase their "man-power" and their wealth by incorporating those regions still inhabited by peoples of the same race or the same religion as themselves, at the same time obtaining an outlet to the sea. We thus hear of a "Greater Serbia," a "Greater Bulgaria," a "Greater Roumania," and a "Greater Greece," or if it were desired to emphasise the fact that peoples united by race and sentiment still remained divided politically, the word "Unredeemed" was substituted for the adjective "Greater."

"**Greater Bulgaria**" was perhaps more a political than a racial aspiration, a desire to establish actually the "Big Bulgaria" of the Treaty of San Stefano (which was shattered by the Treaty of Berlin) with the port of Salonica and the coast of the Gulf of Saros. "**Greater Serbia**" aimed at a union of the Serb states of Serbia, Bosnia, Herzegovina, and probably Montenegro, at the same time obtaining what she most desired, but which was opposed by Austria and Italy, the coasts of Albania and perhaps Dalmatia. The area is broadly that slab of plateau and mountainous country which falls away sharply to the River Save in the north, approaches the valleys of the Timok and Struma in the east, overlooks the plains of Macedonia in the south, and borders the Adriatic in the west.

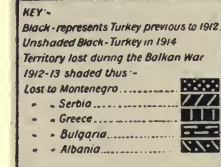
"**Greater Greece**," though not so compact as Greater Serbia, was nevertheless a geographical, ethnographical, and economic unit. The map will show that the islands of the Ægean Sea are like stepping-stones from the peninsulas of Greece to those of Asia Minor, the outer line including the islands of Crete, Scarpanto, and Rhodes. The coasts and islands are inhabited by Greeks who follow a maritime and



39a.—THE BALKAN PEOPLES AND THEIR ASPIRATIONS.

NOTE.—Legitimate aspirations often extended beyond racial boundaries to include outlets to the sea, etc.

INSTRUCTION.—To obtain an illustration of the Racial Problems of the Balkan Peninsula, make a transparent tracing of the above map and superimpose on Map 39b.



39*b*.—THE BALKAN STATES, 1878-1914.

Inset : TREATY OF SAN STEFANO, 1878.

commercial life, and though many of the islands were added recently to Greece as a result of the Balkan Wars, the inhabitants of the remaining islands and the Asia Minor coasts looked forward to the time when the Turkish yoke would be thrown off, and their union with Greece become an accomplished fact.

“Greater Roumania” presented many difficulties and complications, since it could only be attained at the expense of Austria and Russia. The old Roman province of Dacia included Roumania, Transylvania, and part of the Bukowina and Bessarabia. To effect their union it was necessary that Austria and Russia should give up two very valuable economic districts. This was not probable apart from the exigencies of war, since these additions would considerably increase the population and wealth of Roumania, to the detriment of the interests of her powerful neighbours.

Bulgaria.

We now turn to some of the chief events since 1878, and particularly to the fourth great upheaval of this region, the Balkan War, 1912-1913. These hang largely upon the doings of Bulgaria. The Treaty of Berlin divided the Bulgarians into three groups, which the San Stefano Treaty would have united—

1. Bulgarians between the Balkan mountains and the Danube who obtained complete independence except for the acknowledgment of the suzerainty of the Sultan.
2. Bulgarians south of the Balkans in Eastern Rumelia who had merely independence as regards local affairs ; otherwise they formed part of Turkey.
3. Bulgarians in the adjacent parts of Macedonia who remained completely under the rule of the Sultan, as did the Greeks and Serbs of this same province.

Russia, regarding the new state of Bulgaria (that is, 1 above) as coming under her maternal care, proceeded to

"Russify" the whole administration and carry her interference to the extent of alienating the sympathies of the peoples she had liberated. Her aim of making a powerful Bulgaria, as shown in the San Stefano Treaty, had offended Roumania, Serbia, and Greece, and now her interference in Bulgaria turned the attention of that state towards Berlin and Vienna rather than towards Petrograd.

In 1885 Eastern Rumelia decided to form a political union with Bulgaria and throw off the direct rule of the Sultan. This action both angered the Czar, who regarded it as a blow to his prestige, and roused the jealousy of Serbia, who, relying on the moral support of Austria, with whom she had made an alliance, declared war on Bulgaria. Fortunately, the opposition of Turkey was weak, and Bulgarian troops were able to march north against the Serbians, who had obtained some slight success. A victory of the enthusiastic Bulgarians left open the way to Belgrade, when Austria stepped in and checked the advance. The Treaty of Bukarest (1886) between Bulgaria and Serbia established the *status quo ante bellum*, but a convention between Bulgaria and Turkey not only granted Eastern Rumelia to the former under the suzerainty of the Sultan, but would have effected an offensive and defensive alliance between the two had it not been opposed by the Powers.

In 1897 the Christians of Crete proclaimed their union with Greece. From 1878, except for a period of six years, they had been under a Christian governor, but now they desired complete separation from Turkey. Greece, who naturally supported the rising, tried to make a diversion on her frontiers, and was completely defeated. Turkey, however, gained little by her victory. The Powers appointed the King of Greece High Commissioner for three years, and the island continued to remain under Greek influence until incorporated with Greece in 1913.

"Young Turk" Movement.

In 1908 Austria took advantage of the upheavals in Constantinople, where the "Young Turk" party, with their cry "Turkey for the Turks," obtained control of affairs, to reopen the Eastern Question. She annexed Bosnia and Herzegovina completely, while at the same time Bulgaria declared her independence. Thus by 1908 the Austrian advance had been both strengthened and increased, and Austria had become a Balkan power along with Roumania, Bulgaria, Serbia, Montenegro, and Greece.

The action of Austria had remarkable results. It aroused the suspicion and jealousy of Russia; it revived the national sentiments of Balkan peoples; it alienated the Slav states from Austria-Hungary and turned them towards Russia; it offended the third party to the Triple Alliance, Italy, who had special interests in the hinterland of the Adriatic; above all, it led to a struggle between Germany and Great Britain for influence over the Sultan. In 1911 Italy, desirous of setting her foot on the shores of North Africa while circumstances were favourable, declared war upon Turkey and invaded Tripoli, and this in spite of the fact that she was the ally of Germany and Austria, who at that time were friendly to Turkey.

The Balkan League.

While the Turko-Italian War dragged wearily on, a remarkable development occurred in the Balkan peninsula itself. The atrocities of the Turks in Macedonia and the entire neglect of those reforms which had been promised at the Treaty of Berlin caused the Balkan states, except Roumania, to sink their religious and racial differences and unite in a Balkan League for the emancipation and partition of Macedonia. For a time it looked as though a Balkan Federation would take the place of the Ottoman Empire in Europe, and

Mr. Gladstone's desire of "the Balkans for the Balkan peoples" be realised.

Montenegro, the furthest removed from Constantinople, was the first to declare war on Turkey, and was joined shortly afterwards by Serbia, Bulgaria, and Greece. A general attack from four directions was planned, and ultimately carried through. The Bulgarians advanced along the Maritza and Tunja valleys towards Adrianople, but, unable to take that fortress by a frontal attack, worked round to sever the communications with Constantinople. The Turkish army in the field suffered a crushing defeat at Lule Burgas and Kirk Kilisse, and retreated behind the Chatalja lines of fortifications. The Bulgarians then proceeded to invest Adrianople, the fortress which commands all routes leading from Bulgaria to Turkey. Meanwhile the Serbians had marched up the valley of the Morava to their frontier fort Vrania. They then crossed the low passes to the south into the valley of the Vardar, and succeeded in taking Ushkub and Monastir. The Montenegrins dashed themselves in vain against the fortress of Scutari, but the Greeks, aided by their fleet, took Salonica and a number of the islands of the Ægean Sea.

By this time the Powers intervened in the attempt to settle matters peaceably; but as Turkey refused to give up Adrianople, the war broke out again early in 1913. Then followed a series of brilliant successes for the League. Bulgaria and Serbia took Adrianople, Greece advanced along the Arta River and took Yanina, while Montenegro captured Scutari—the triangle of fortresses which was regarded as the impregnable basis of Turkish power. The Sultan now gave way, and desired peace on any terms the powers of Europe might dictate. By the TREATY OF LONDON, 1913, Turkey ceded to the Allies all her territory on the mainland of Europe west of a line drawn from Enos to Midia; problems of finance, Albanian boundaries, islands, etc., were to be settled by the Powers.

Scarcely had the treaty been signed when trouble arose among the members of the League themselves. Their success had exceeded all expectation, and the division of the spoils led to disruption. Bulgaria was most unreasonable in the demands she made on her allies. She wished to limit Serbia to a treaty arranged with her in 1912 which presupposed far less conquests than had actually been made, and by which also Serbia should have Albania, and thereby an independent outlet on the Adriatic. Italy and Austria refused their sanction to this, and naturally Serbia regarded the treaty under those conditions as invalid. Greece desired Salonica, which her armies had been the first to enter. To this Bulgaria would not agree, on the grounds that the people of the Vardar and Struma valleys, of which Salonica was the outlet, were Bulgars. Roumania, who had remained neutral, demanded as the price of her neutrality Silistria and a part of the Dobrudscha, which Bulgaria was loth to cede. There can be little doubt that she estimated her own military powers too high and those of her former allies too low. Furthermore, we have reason to believe that she was stiffened in her resolve by Austria, who saw in a Bulgaria extending from the Danube to the Ægean a highway to Salonica or Constantinople. Austria, however, remained inactive on account of the mobilisation of Russian troops on the frontiers of Galicia.

Second Balkan War.

The result of the second Balkan War, July, 1913, was most humiliating to Bulgaria, who, determined to prove herself "the Prussia of the Balkans," attacked her allies without any declaration of war. Roumania, with the approval of Russia, joined Serbia and Greece, and within a month brought Bulgaria to her knees. This was not the extent of the disaster, for Turkey, taking advantage of the new conditions, attacked and recaptured Adrianople.

The Treaty of Bukarest, August, 1913, between the Balkan

states and the boundary agreement between Bulgaria and Turkey, September, 1913, left Bulgaria in a weakened condition. Roumania obtained Silistria and the rich cornlands north of a line from Baba on the Danube—some twenty-five miles below Rustchuk—to a point north of Varna on the Black Sea. Serbia obtained Old Serbia and extended southwards to include Monastir. Montenegro received additions, sharing with Serbia the wedge of the Sanjak of Novi Bazar, which hitherto had been a sphere of Austrian influence. She had to give up Scutari, however, under pressure from certain powers, particularly Austria, who determined to make it the capital of an independent Albania. Greece received considerable territories to the north, which included the fortress of Yanina and the port of Salonica. In addition, she was confirmed in the possession of Crete, while other islands held by her and Italy were to be the subject of discussion by a conference of the Powers. Turkey, in her arrangement with Bulgaria, succeeded in establishing the Enos-Midia line so as to include Dimotika, Adrianople, and Kirk Kilisse (*vide* Map 39*b*).

The new situation was highly disappointing to both Bulgaria and Austria. The one had been humiliated by the forces she despised; the other had seen her favourite beaten to her knees, and lost what she considered her own preserves—the Sanjak of Novi Bazar—to the two Slav states, Montenegro and Serbia. The port of Salonica, which had been the goal of her ambitions, had passed to Greece, while she saw with dismay the Balkan League giving place to the much stronger alliance of Roumania, Serbia, Montenegro, and Greece, the first two especially having common interests in the future of those Serbs and Roumanians still “groaning beneath the Habsburg yoke.” Serbia also saw in Austria the power which had stood in her way to acquiring Albania and the Adriatic coast, and Greece was suspicious of Italy and her ally in their occupation of the Ægean Islands.

Obviously it was to the advantage of Austria and the other

parties of the Triple Alliance to reopen the whole Eastern Question, especially as it was realised even then that there would be at an early date a "Question of Austria." The Dual Monarchy, where Latin and Slav were dominated and controlled by German and Magyar, presented signs of disruption, and the only cement holding these dissimilar and mutually hostile peoples together was the personality of the late Emperor-King Francis Joseph.

The "Question of Austria," in a word, was growing ripe for solution. It was not to the interest of German and Magyar to delay the issue. Every year might see the Balkan League grow stronger, Russia more prepared, and the hostility of Italy more undisguised. Every day brought the aged Francis Joseph closer to the tomb, and the crazy structure, of which his personality constituted the chief bond, nearer to its inevitable collapse. War at no distant date was certain; it was well that it should come whilst Francis Joseph was still alive, whilst Italy and Roumania might be regarded as possible neutrals, and before Serbia had recovered from two exhausting campaigns. And if Austria stood to gain by an immediate decision, still more was it in the interest of her ally to precipitate the crisis. If Germany must face the world in arms—an event which twenty years of a "Mailed Fist" policy had rendered inevitable—it was clearly desirable to force matters to an issue before one partner to the Triplice had perished of internal combustion and the other had gone over to the enemy.

Nothing save a pretext was wanting to plunge the world into war, for by no other means could Germany and Austria attain the goal of their commercial and colonial policies. To them it was "world power or downfall"—no amity and mutual aid, no League of Nations for the well-being of the world. The pretext was forthcoming in the assassination of the heir to the Austrian throne, the Archduke Ferdinand, and his wife, in the Bosnian capital of Serajevo on June 28, 1914. At first a dispute between Austria and Serbia over Serbian intrigues in

Bosnia and Herzegovina, the matter was taken up by Germany in opposition to the attitude adopted by Russia. Within an incredibly short time the whole of Europe sprang to arms—France aided Russia, and England, in sympathy with France, was drawn into the conflict by German violation of the Treaty of London, 1839, by which the neutrality of Belgium was guaranteed by the Powers. Japan, in accordance with her alliance with Britain, co-operated in the attack on the German possession of Kiao-Chou in China. The decision of Turkey later to join the Central Powers resulted in the definite annexation of Egypt and Cyprus by Britain—the former as a protectorate under a new Sultan, the latter as a possession. One by one other nations were drawn into the vortex of war; one by one old problems in a new guise came to the front, until there seemed to be no nation, great or small, outside the camp of the belligerents, no problem of European or world interest unconnected with the mighty struggle. The names of the Dardanelles, Gallipoli, and Salonica; of Egypt and Palestine; of Mesopotamia and Baghdad, indicate the importance, to Britain at least, of the “Land of Five Seas,” the area whose shores are washed by Caspian, Black, Mediterranean, and Red Seas and the Persian Gulf. The conflict in Flanders and Belgium reflected what one might call the “home” policy of Germany; these Eastern theatres were necessitated by a vigorous Germanic policy in the Middle East, which would have placed Turkey-in-Asia under the control of Germany. To the development of this policy during the two decades preceding the war we now turn.

RECAPITULATION

At the opening of the twentieth century two groups of questions connected with Turkey gave rise to considerable anxiety: one the race problems of the Balkan peninsula, the other the economic problems of Turkey-in-Asia. The two are interrelated, for the struggle of nationality was complicated by the foreign policy of

Austria and Russia. The small states aimed at a "Greater Bulgaria," "Greater Serbia," "Greater Greece," and "Greater Roumania."

The division of Bulgaria by the Treaty of Berlin (1878) into three parts led to a revolt in Eastern Rumelia (1885) and its union with Bulgaria. In 1908 Austria annexed Bosnia and Herzegovina to prevent union with Serbia. In 1912 the Balkan states united against Turkey, taking the triangle of fortresses Adrianople, Yanina, and Scutari, and annexing almost the whole of Turkey-in-Europe. The second Balkan War against Bulgaria resulted in certain modifications of the Treaty of London by the Treaty of Bukarest. The opening of the Great War (1914) postponed till 1919 the settlement of the Balkan problems.

QUESTIONS

1. What are the various races inhabiting the Balkan peninsula? What regions are occupied by them? and in each case show what economic factors should be taken into consideration in determining the boundaries.

2. Trace the policies of Austria and Russia in the Balkan peninsula during the last century and show the geographical lines along which they were pursued.

CHAPTER XX




THE MIDDLE EAST



ONE of the chief reasons, as we have said, why the local dispute between Austria and Serbia assumed world-wide proportions was the great development of European interests in the Middle East. The decline of the Turkish power in Europe led to a series of race wars, and, similarly, the decline of the Turkish power in Asia resulted in economic entanglements, until the problems of nationality in Balkania became inextricably mingled with those of commerce in the Middle East. Although this region of the Middle East has been desolate for many centuries under the heel of the Turk, yet in ancient times the irrigation areas of Mesopotamia and Egypt, with the natural highway of Syria between them, supported large and highly civilised populations, as the ruins of cities and their records testify.

If these lands supported a large population in the days of the Egyptian and Babylonian dynasties or the later Saracen kingdoms, what might not be the result if modern engineering and agricultural skill were brought to bear upon them? As time went on, the ever-increasing populations of European countries turned more and more to industrial pursuits, depending to a greater extent for food and raw material on foreign supplies. It became imperative that new lands should be brought under cultivation to meet these new demands, and, as we have seen, the lands of the whole earth began to be exploited by the white man. Of the Turkish lands, the *outer* portions naturally passed first out of the Sultan's possession—Algeria and Tunis to France, Tripoli to Italy, and Egypt to

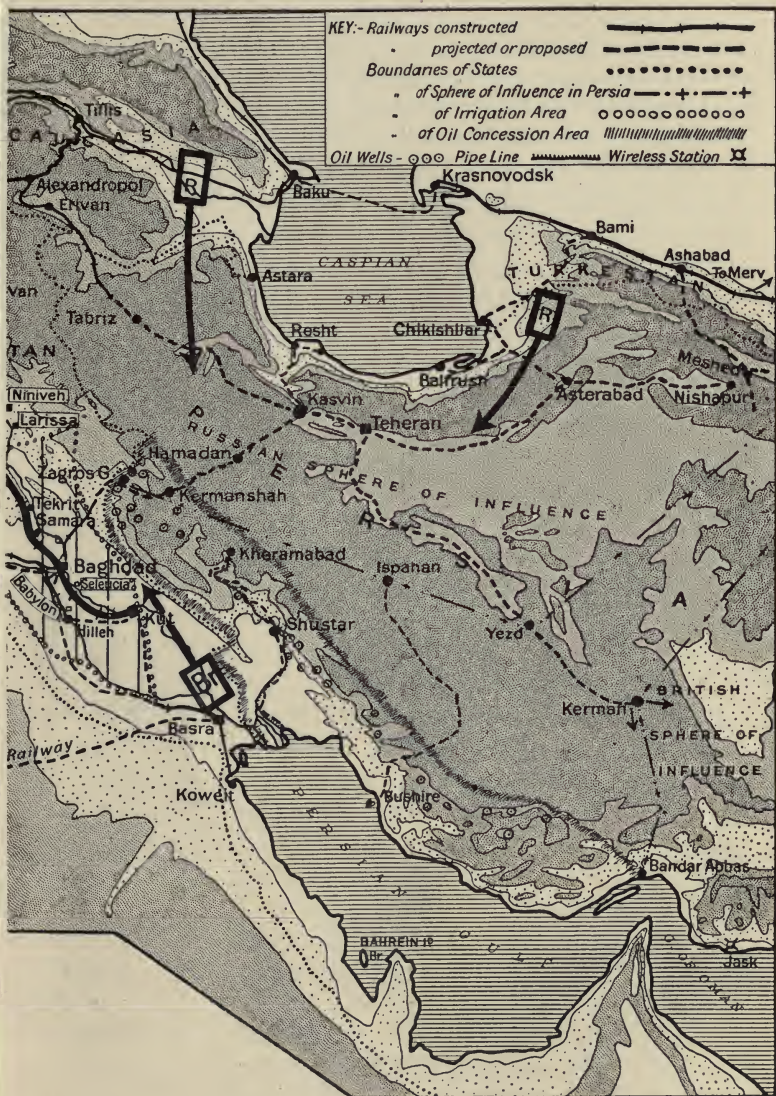


40. — "PEACEFUL PENETRATION" IN THE NEAR AND MIDDLE EAST. (prior to 1914)

KEY: = Heights shown, above 600' thus , above 2000' thus , above 4000' thus  ()

NB. Lines of Penetration of British (Br), Russian (R), German (G) Influence, shown thus e.g.  →
Bulgarian Aim, thus  →. Ancient Cities, sites of, thus e.g., Nineveh

(Note :- The Baghdad Railway has been carried forward to the date 1919.)



Britain. The vast lands, however, lying between the five seas—Mediterranean, Black, Caspian, Indian, and Red—remained to the Turk, though these also became the object of the exploitation of trading-companies, backed by their respective governments. "Concessions" granted to these companies for the construction of railways, harbours, and so forth, were the thin edge of the wedge leading to the ultimate partitioning of the land among the Powers. Concessions lead to "spheres of influence," and these, under modern conditions, often become "spheres of political control," then "protectorates," and occasionally end in complete annexation. Thus, although the "Sick Man" still retained control of the land, it was obvious that an important sharing out of his Asiatic possessions had commenced.

German Schemes.

In the scramble for Africa, Britain and France obtained the greatest shares; in the scramble for China the supreme contest was between Russia and Japan; but in the scramble for Turkey the new states which had come into existence in 1870—Germany and Italy—entered with all the vigour of youth into the struggle for colonies and new markets. For some years after 1870 these two countries were more concerned with the building up and consolidating of the new states than with seeking lands abroad. Not until the twentieth century did they actually adopt an aggressive colonial policy. Germany almost went to war with France over Morocco (1905 and 1911), and Italy wrested Tripoli from Turkey (1912). German statesmen, however, saw in Mesopotamia their "Land of Promise," their share of the earth's spoils, and they assiduously cultivated the friendship of the Sultan and his Muhammadan subjects. As British influence at Constantinople waned, German influence increased, obtaining for German companies important concessions for various enterprises. One of these was the construction of a railway to Baghdad, ultimately to be

carried to the Persian Gulf. The B.B.B. (Berlin-Byzantium-Baghdad) Scheme, as it was popularly known, with all its possibilities, became the dream of statesmen both in Vienna and Berlin. Such a line necessitated, of course, not only paramount interest in the Middle East, but political influence in the Balkan peninsula. We may now perhaps understand the chagrin of German statesmen when the Treaty of Bukarest increased the power of Serbia and Greece at the expense of their ally Turkey, and why they should not only seek to reopen the whole question at an early date, but cultivate the friendship of Bulgaria, who nursed resentment against the other Balkan states. Italy was no longer of strategic value now that Germanic policy was to penetrate to the Ægean rather than the Adriatic, and from this time we may date the gradual slipping away of Italy from the Triple Alliance, until in 1915 she declared war on Austria.

Peaceful Penetration.

But while Germany and Austria exerted their influence through Constantinople, other powers "peacefully penetrated" from other directions—Britain from Egypt and the Persian Gulf; France from the Eastern Mediterranean; Russia from Turkestan and Transcaucasia. It would be unwise at this stage to do more than indicate the many interests which conflicted in Turkey-in-Asia, and to enumerate a few of the public and private works which were being carried out. In the development of new lands railways are of primary importance, and it is not surprising that financiers of Great Britain, France, Russia, and Germany obtained concessions to construct lines in various districts, following in most cases the old trade routes. Asia Minor has a fairly good system which converges on Smyrna. A line follows the caravan route of Eastern Syria from Aleppo through Damascus to Medina and ultimately to Mecca, having communications with Beirut and Haifa on the Mediterranean coast. The Baghdad Railway, however, is the

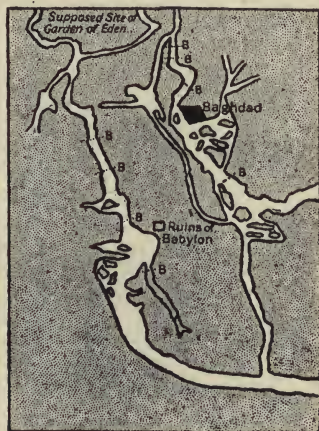
one upon which most interest has been concentrated in recent years, not only because of its political significance, but also because, when it and its projected connections are completed, "two iron streaks of rail" will shorten the distance between East and West and unite for good or ill the materialistic civilisation of the Occident with the philosophical and spiritual civilisations of the Orient. Before the war the line was constructed from Scutari almost to Ras-el-Ain beyond the Euphrates, with certain breaks in the mountainous districts of the Taurus. It passes through Eskishehr (whence a branch goes to Angora, Konia, Adana, round the head of Alexandretta Bay, to Aleppo, making there a junction with the Hejaz line, whence it goes to Jerablus on the Euphrates, towards Ras-el-Ain. This was the terminus in 1914, but the war resulted in the railway being pushed on rapidly towards Mosul on the Tigris, while British operations from the Persian Gulf connected Mosul by rail or water with Basrah and Koweit. Other railways were proposed or suggested, some of commercial, others of strategic value, but all were the subject of diplomatic discussion and inquiry. Thus it was proposed to develop the lines of Syria by a railway from the junction of the Beirut and Hejaz lines to Lake Tiberias, thence across the plain of Esdraelon—the Armageddon of the Bible—to join the Jaffa-Jerusalem route. A further proposal was to carry a track from Damascus through Tadmur to Abu Kemal on the Euphrates, and along that river till it approaches the Tigris, and thus to Baghdad. It was further proposed to continue the Angora line to Erzeroum with the undoubted object of joining it to the Russian line from Kars.

If we include Persia in our outlook, which is natural, since both Persia and Turkey were the objects of European exploitation, the railway systems become still more important. From Alexandropol on the Kars-Tiflis line to Erivan and Tabriz runs a line which ultimately may be carried to Teheran, and probably round to join the Transcaspiian line at Merv. Russia

proposed to construct a line from Kasvin through Hamadan to Baghdad, and Britain one from the Persian Gulf through Shustar to Khurramabad.

Two other lines were suggested, and are interesting, not because they are likely to be constructed in the near future, but because they indicate the growing importance of these regions. One, if constructed, would start from Cairo along the Pilgrim Road to Akaba, cut the Hejaz line at right angles, then continue across Arabia to Basrah, and along the southern shore of Persia to join the Indian system at Karachi. The other, a Russian suggestion, was to carry a line from Teheran through Kashan, Ispahan, Yezd, to Kurman. This was opposed by Britain on the grounds that it approached too near India, and an alternative suggestion was made to take it south from Yezd to Bandar Abbas on the Strait of Ormuz. Follow out these constructed, projected, and suggested lines on the map, and you will realise the great financial interests that were at stake in Asiatic Turkey and Persia in 1914.

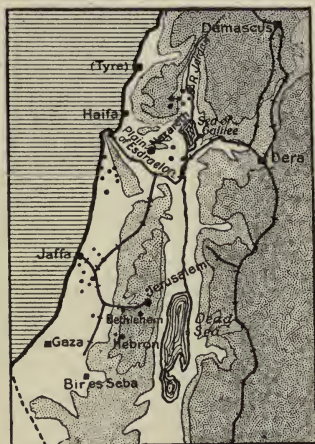
Side by side with railway construction other developments had taken place. In the region to the south of Baghdad extensive irrigation works were carried out under British direction, thus giving to Britain the honour of undoing the work of the Turk in Egypt and Babylonia and reviving the ancient prosperity of these two areas. During the war an army of coolies from India grew enormous quantities of food on these lands for the Mesopotamian Expeditionary Force,



40a.—IRRIGATION SCHEMES
IN MESOPOTAMIA.

(B = Barrage).

and here in the near future wheat, cotton, and perhaps other crops, will be grown in abundance. In South-West Persia are valuable oil-fields, and a British company in which the Government hold controlling shares* obtained "concessions" from Persia to work the area. The increasing use of oil fuel in the navy made this concession of special value to Britain. Asia Minor, too, under influences from Greece and the Great



40b.—JEWISH COLONISATION
OF PALESTINE.

Jewish colonies shown thus • .

Powers, increased her trade considerably, so that the region from Asia Minor to the Persian Gulf was a rapidly developing area, specially marked by Germany for her own, though, as we have seen, Russia was steadily advancing from the north-east and Britain from the south.

Developments in Asia Minor and Mesopotamia to the north, and in Egypt to the south, could not but effect the land of Syria lying between. Already the Hejaz line ran from north to south, while many branch and local lines were constructed.

The most interesting change, however, was the return of the Jews in increasing numbers to the land from which their race has been excluded for so many long centuries. Along the river valleys of the west, served by the lines from Jaffa and Haifa, sprang up colonies or garden cities where the olive, orange, and vine were cultivated and their products exported. In

* The only other company in which the British Government hold shares is the Suez Canal Company. The Suez Canal and the Persian Gulf form the bases for the advance of British influence into this region.

order that you may see the wonderful changes which took place, we will examine the statement of a traveller who visited Palestine early in 1914.

"In Palestine as a whole we find that in place of the 500 nondescript Jews in the land when Sir Moses Montefiore visited it in 1827, there are now 500 two hundred times over." And again: "Whereas, even so comparatively recently as 1882, a thriving Jewish colony or 'ghetto' was somewhat of a phenomenon, there are now no less than fifty-seven within trumpet-call of the walls of Jerusalem."* The same traveller speaks of the increasing prosperity in Galilee and Samaria, giving the following particulars as typical of the building conditions enforced in the settlements:

"1. Every house must stand on its own grounds of at least 700 square yards, two-thirds of which must be garden space.

"2. Every street must be at least 39 feet wide, and a certain space left between each house.

"3. Public gardens must be laid out and never built upon.

"4. Shops must be concentrated, and only erected on certain reserved spaces.

"5. The owners of the houses are all under bond to contribute towards paving, lighting, cleaning, fire, watch, etc.

"6. Every male inhabitant to take turn to guard alternately during half a night with the paid watchman."

Many are the indications that, except in the deep gorge of the Jordan Valley, prosperity was returning to a land which had been utterly desolate. Here, as elsewhere, the Great European War gave a check to industry, and many colonists fled to the new British Protectorate of Egypt, not without a wish that some day in the near future a similar protectorate might be established in their beloved land of Palestine. Along the lines indicated by the arrows on the map, armies, not "influences," advanced during the war, and railway construc-

* F. G. Jannaway in *Palestine and the Jews*.

tion was carried on, not to serve the needs of the country, but for the use of the belligerents. These, however, will naturally form the basis for the economic development of the new states arising as a result of the war.

We must now leave this "Land of the Five Seas," the land full of interest, the home of ancient Egypt and Babylonia; the scene of the long conflict between Mussulman and Christian; the land which in the new age fills one with hope by the reawakening of nations and with fear because of conflicting interests.

We have brought the history of Europe and the world down to August, 1914, when the guns shattered the peace, or perhaps it would be better to call it the *armed truce*, during which such advance had been made in all the arts and sciences, and nations had awakened to a new life. But what was the verdict of the historian on the old world which, it is hoped, passed out of being amid the booming of the guns and smoke of war?

"The newly made peoples, after leaping at one bound to manhood, have had to bow the neck to burdens heavy to be borne, and from which they see no other relief than the far-off, glimmering hope that the increase of their own load may perchance discourage their adversary and prolong the armed truce. This state of things begets no joy in life—nothing but a feverish resolve to snatch at passing sensations. The individual is crushed by a sense of helplessness as he gazes at the armed millions on all sides of him. Though a free man in the constitutional sense of the term, he has entered into a state of military serfdom. There he is but a bondman, toiling to add his few blocks to the colossal pyramid of war, which imposes respect on some enemy away in the desert. From that life there can come no song. From those weltering masses, engaged in piling up work upon work against some remote contingency, there rises, and will still more arise, a dull, confused, questioning murmur, whether the whips of fear which drive them on are not wielded by some malignant fury masquerading in the garb of peace."

But war came, the storm-cloud burst, and a horror of thick darkness settled on the world for four and a half long, weary years. Slowly the darkness passes, and men wander amid the wreckage, determined that out of the old world shall arise a new world in which mankind shall be saved from the recurrence of the scourge of war.

RECAPITULATION

During the last half-century European powers have paid increasing attention to Turkey-in-Asia and Persia with a view to exploitation. Germany especially desired to penetrate through Constantinople to Baghdad and the Persian Gulf. The chief concessions were made to France, Germany, and Britain, largely for railway construction in Asia Minor and Syria, while Britain secured also from Persia rights to develop the oil-fields north-east of the Gulf. In Syria, and particularly Palestine, Jewish colonies were established by Zionists (*i.e.*, those desirous for obtaining a national home for the Jews in Palestine), so that here, as elsewhere in the "Land of the Five Seas," there were evidences of a reawakening after centuries of desolation under the Turk.

QUESTIONS

1. Why is it important to Britain that Palestine should not be in the hands of a power likely to be hostile? What is Britain's attitude towards the Zionist movement?
2. Show how the Baghdad Railway might be made the main artery of the Middle East. Hence explain its importance to Germany in her dream of world power. How did Britain endeavour to check that policy before the war?

CHAPTER XXI

THE RECONSTRUCTION OF EUROPE

THE problems that beset the world in general and Europe in particular have been traced up to the year 1914. Jealousy and rivalry between nations had become a serious menace. Nevertheless, it was hoped that diplomacy, though backed by the grim machine of war, would be able to avert the horrors of international conflict. The minor episode of the assassination of the Archduke of Austria at Serajevo, however, sufficed to plunge the world into open hostility.

Slav and Teuton.

The punitive measures of the Austro-Hungarian Government against the South Slavs, and especially against the Serbs of Serbia, rapidly developed into a Slav-Teuton war, with Russia and Austria as the principal antagonists. It was within these narrow limits that British statesmanship sought, during those pregnant days of July, 1914, to confine the conflict when war proved inevitable, but the conflagration spread with amazing rapidity. France and Germany, in accordance with treaty obligations, stood behind their respective allies, Russia and Austria.

The main issue between these states was the race for Balkan suzerainty as the authority of the Sultan declined, and the rivalry for economic advantage in Asiatic Turkey. In this the opening of the "door" of Serbia offered great possibilities. Bound up with this dispute were the nationalist claims of the various Balkan States, not only to the lands still held by

the Turk, but also to lands held by each other, especially in the Dobrudscha and Macedonia. The race problem extended into Austria-Hungary, the Slav elements in the north and south pressing their demands for autonomy.

Subordinate to the main question, too, were those problems which have been treated in preceding chapters as being associated with the "fault" zones of the Continent—the "irredentist" and territorial adjustments in the west, the realisation of national aspirations in the east. Thus, Italy urged her claims to Trent and Trieste; France desired the restoration of Alsace and Lorraine, not only for the strategic control of the lines of entry into the country, but also on account of the deposits of coal and iron in Lorraine. Such an economic factor also added difficulties to the nationalist movement in Poland and to the Slav agitation in Austria-Hungary. Further complication was introduced into all these problems by the awakening of the peasantry in Eastern Europe and the ominous class war which threatened the industrial countries of Western Europe.

The War.

The war opened on the eastern and western frontiers of the Central Empires, Germany standing on the defensive along the east, but taking the offensive against France. Old routes again assumed their ancient rôle.* Germany attacked through the gates of Lorraine and Burgundy, and, violating the neutrality of Belgium, swept her right wing along the easier route of the Meuse-Sambre, reducing the Belgian fortresses one by one with her powerful siege guns.

This breach of neutrality caused Britain, in accordance with her historic policy, to enter the conflict for the protection of the Belgian coast against a possible rival. The staunch resistance of the Belgian army enabled British and French

* Compare the routes of the campaigns on the west with those shown in Map 21.

resistance to be organised against the invading forces. The first stand was made behind the Meuse and across the Sambre from Namur to Mons. From this position the Allied forces during the first month fell back before the extreme right of the German army, which was wheeling westwards and southwards towards Paris round the pivot of Verdun, threatening to surround the retreating forces. The coup failed, partly through the rapid transfer of French reserves to the extreme left, where they seriously endangered the German wing. This brilliant recovery of French and British troops forced back the enemy to a line of entrenchments across Picardy, where equilibrium was more or less maintained between the two armies. A dreary trench war now commenced, continuing for almost four years, and necessitating the development of new instruments of war, notably the big gun and the aeroplane, the latter primarily for purposes of observation. War on a scale and of a character such as had never before been experienced demanded in an ever-increasing degree the mobilisation of the whole industrial and scientific resources of the respective countries. The armies in the field became the advance-guards of mighty nations engaged in a life-and-death struggle.

Meanwhile, in the east, the Russians, from their Polish territories, were able to take the offensive against both Austria and Germany. They invaded Galicia by way of the plateau route, investing Lemberg and Przemyśl and causing the Austrians to retreat towards the Moravian Gate and the passes of the Carpathians. They also struck at East Prussia along the Narew and Niemen Rivers, but after slight successes were seriously defeated at Tannenberg, in the difficult frontier country of the Masurian Lakes. The Carpathians and the Masurian Lakes marked approximately in the east the zone of comparative equilibrium between Russia and the Central Powers.



41.—THE GREAT WAR—SIEGE OF THE CENTRAL POWERS.

The Siege.

Germany and Austria were now held both on the east and on the west; the British navy was supreme in the North and Mediterranean Seas. The war thus entered upon its second and most important phase, the great siege of the Central Powers. The entrance of Turkey and Bulgaria into the war on the side of the enemy increased the task of the Allied Powers. The siege, however, became more effective as Italy and later Roumania joined the Allies: the one to gain "unredeemed" territory from Austria and to obtain a share of the economic spoils of the Turkish Empire; the other to realise her "Greater Roumania" at the expense of Hungary, and to prevent isolation by the success of the Pan-German colonisation scheme.

Attacks were directed at vulnerable points. Russia pressed in from the Black Sea, through the Caucasus and Persia; Britain from the Persian Gulf and from Egypt; Britain and France from the Ægean in an ill-fated attack on Gallipoli for the purpose of cutting off the enemy troops in Asia and narrowing the siege to the limits of Central Europe. The Allies occupied Salonica as a second "Torres Vedras," from which to threaten the enemy on the flank. Italy opened a new battle front against Austria along the Adige River and through the Venetian gate across the Isonzo River, while in August, 1916, Roumania occupied a position which, under certain circumstances, might have turned the fortunes of war.

The Central Powers aimed at weakening the ever-tightening grip by a series of successful campaigns, made possible by excellent transport organisation and by the advantage of interior lines—viz., the great attacks along the lowlands of Belgium and North-East France; through the Lorraine Gate for the strategic position of Verdun; through the Venetian Gate and along the Brenner-Adige route against Italy; along the Morava and Drina Rivers against Serbia and Montenegro; through the Iron Gate and the Transylvanian passes against

Roumania; along the plains of the east against Russia, whose armies were pressed back until divided by the Pripet marshes.

This attempt to break the siege explains also the air-raid policy and the unrestricted submarine warfare which endeavoured to cut the sea communications of the Allies, and to deprive them of the food and munitions which they obtained from abroad. The violation of the rules of war, however, ultimately induced many neutral states, and particularly America, to take up arms against the Central Powers.

Beyond the immediate limits of the ring, the war also spread to include campaigns against German colonies in West, South, and East Africa and in the North and South Pacific waters. On the seas small enemy squadrons were suppressed and energetic measures were adopted against under-sea craft.

Russia.

Early in 1917 the military incompetence of the Russian Imperial régime and the rise to power of the proletariat during the Revolution of March changed the aspect of the war on the eastern front. Within a year Germany concluded terms of peace with the Russian republics at Brest-Litovsk, which not only released troops for a supreme effort in the west, but provided an outlet to the food and oil lands of South Russia, Caucasus, and the Middle East. By the spring of 1918, therefore, Germany was able to concentrate all her effort on the western front in a series of tremendous blows against the Allied armies. The long siege, however, was now severely testing the resources of Germany, and especially of her allies. The attacks in the west failed at the critical moment, and thenceforward the great military entrenchments gave way steadily before the Allies, with whom America was now actively associated.

German Revolution.

The hardships of a long war and the failure to crown enormous effort with victory bred revolution among the enemy peoples, which extended to the armies and undermined the

influence of the military party. The allies of Germany, too, especially Austria, were less subservient after the succession of the Emperor Charles, who wished to make peace on the best terms possible. The enemy powers were fast falling apart, but before the Allies could press their victories to a conclusion, Bulgaria, Turkey, and Austria surrendered, and a few days later the German revolution completed the collapse of the Central Powers. Statesmen met at Versailles and dictated the conditions of an armistice with each state in turn, preparatory to drawing up the conditions of peace.

League of Nations.

It was inevitable that the passionate feelings called forth by more than four years of bitter warfare should demand punishment of the defeated powers by reparation, direct or indirect, and that the treaties should contain terms for the impoverishment and humiliation of the enemy states and the advantage of the victors. It was also inevitable that men reflecting the finer feelings of the twentieth century should seek a new ideal in which the treacherous "balance of power" should give place to a "league of nations." It was the coping-stone of the edifice slowly being erected during the nineteenth century, when men toiled to attain their national freedom against military autocracies, and their economic freedom against exploiters of cheap labour.

First, therefore, in the Treaty with Germany stands the Covenant of the League of Nations.

The League of Nations is founded in order to promote international co-operation and to secure peace.

The member states agree—

- 1 (A) To reduce their armaments.
- 2 (B) To exchange full information as to their existing armaments and their naval and military programmes.
- 3 (C) To respect each other's territory and political independence, and guarantee them against foreign aggression.
- 4 (D) To submit all international disputes to arbitration.



The former German colonies and territories of the Ottoman Empire are to be administered in the interests of civilisation by states selected for the purpose as mandatories of the League.

The member states accept certain responsibilities with regard to labour conditions, the treatment of natives, the opium traffic, the arms traffic with uncivilised and semi-civilised countries, transit and trade conditions, public health and Red Cross societies.

The Covenant of the League thus sets up a new standard of international relationship, and by the League's permanent secretariat, under a Secretary-General, provides machinery for examining international disputes and attempting to secure their settlement in accordance with reason and justice rather than by the primitive method of force.

Terms of the Treaties.

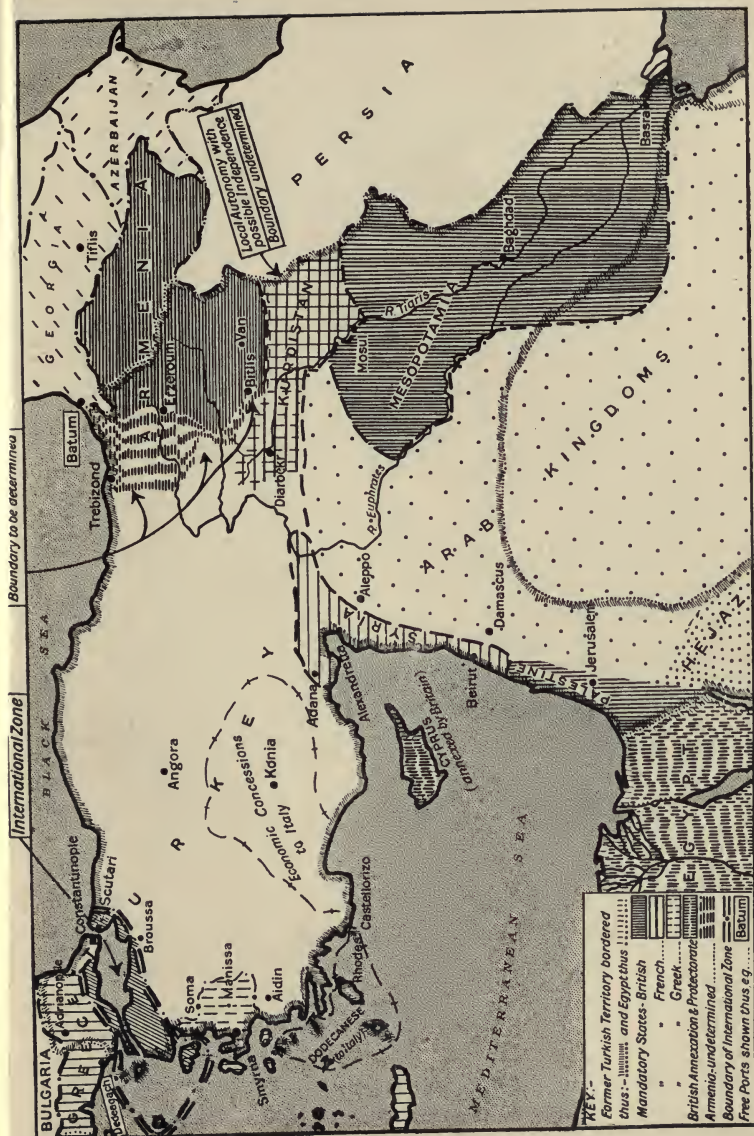
The principles underlying the treaties of Versailles as they affect the permanent settlement of the world may be set out as follows :

(i.) *The reconstitution of the two "fault zones" of Europe by the establishment of neutral states or guaranteed control, minimising the possibility of war between France and Germany or Germany and Russia.*

Thus, on the west, Belgium is restored to its former position, with the addition of certain German railheads, as at Malmedy ; Luxemburg is freed entirely from German control ; France recovers Alsace and Lorraine, with the economic control of the Saar basin for fifteen years.

On the east many new states have arisen, some through treaty obligations, others through the revolutionary movements in Russia. Poland, within which is the free city of Danzig, and Czecho-Slovakia have been detached from Germany and Russia and from Austria-Hungary respectively. The following republics have been formed in Western Russia—Finland, Esthonia, Lithuania, Poland, and the Ukraine.

(ii.) *The frustration of German-Austrian schemes of pene-*



43.—TURKEY UNDER THE TREATY OF VERSAILLES, 1920.

tration and of conquest in Asiatic Turkey and the Middle East.

This has been effected (1) by the limitation of the resources of the two states by creating the new nationalist states of Yugo-Slavia and Czecho-Slovakia and by extending Roumania; (2) by adding to the power of original Serbia and Greece in the Balkan Peninsula; (3) by assigning the mandatory power of Smyrna to Greece, of Syria to France, and of Mesopotamia and Palestine to Britain, who also secures the recognition of her protectorate of Egypt and her annexation of Cyprus. Armenia and Kurdistan are created independent states, so that Turkey is now confined to the plateau of Asia Minor, except for the religious centre of Islam in Constantinople.

(iii.) *The acknowledgment of nationalist and "irredentist" claims which had been gaining in force during the nineteenth century.*

In many areas where a mixed population makes it impossible to determine the wishes of the people, the problem is to be ultimately settled by a plebiscite. France recovers Alsace and Lorraine, though a plebiscite in fifteen years' time will decide the settlement of the Saar basin. Italy obtains from Austria the Trentino and the district of Trieste. Schleswig returns to Denmark, and Posen is incorporated in the new state of Poland. In Austria-Hungary race antagonism has resulted in complete political reconstruction. The North Slavs have united to form Czecho-Slovakia, the South Slavs with Serbia to create the Adriatic state of Yugo-Slavia. Portions of Upper Moravia and of Galicia are incorporated in the new Poland or in the Ukraine. Transylvania, with its Roumanian population, completes the aspiration of a "Greater Roumania." Hungary is thus restricted to the Magyar portion of the Theiss and Danube valleys, Austria to the "German" regions of the Vienna basin and the Tyrolese valleys.

In the Balkans and in Asiatic Turkey there has been some readjustment of territory on nationalist lines, though this has

to some extent been complicated by matters of economic importance. Serbia, we have seen, has grown into the state of Yugo-Slavia, Roumania has incorporated Transylvania, Greece now spreads along the North Ægean coast almost to Constantinople, and includes also the greater number of the islands of the Ægean and the port and district of Smyrna.

In Palestine a national home is guaranteed to the Jews under the protection of Britain; Armenia becomes an independent state; so, too, does the greater part of Arabia and the Hejaz. France in Syria and Britain in Mesopotamia have been entrusted with the administration until such time as the people are able to rule themselves.

(iv.) *The administration of the former German colonies in the interests of civilisation.*

During recent years Germany had given great attention to the development of her African and Pacific colonies. These have been almost entirely allocated to Britain and France. Togo is shared between the Gold Coast and Dahomey; France receives the Cameroons; Britain the former German East Africa—now Tanganyika Territory—except for a portion of the north-west, which goes to Belgium. German South-West Africa is incorporated in the Union of South Africa as the South-West Protectorate.

In the Pacific, Shantung and the islands north of the Equator go to Japan; the islands and territory to the south to Australia or New Zealand.

Russia.

In Russia the problems of peace passed beyond the control of the Allied and Associated Powers, and the several peoples broke asunder into a number of republics. Finland—the region of deciduous forests between the gulfs of Bothnia and Finland and backed by the conifer-covered lakeland—detached itself from Russia to become a separate republic. Among the lakes and swamps which line the south shores of the Baltic, Letts and

Lithuanians became independent. The Poles of Russia have united with those of Posen and Galicia to form an independent Poland. South of the Pripet marshes the republic of Ukrainia stands between the new states of Central Europe and the new Russia centred on Moscow and Petrograd. In the south-east the three republics of Caucasia, Georgia, and Azerbaijan occupy the lands of the Caucasus. Siberia, that vast expansion of Russia into Asia, becomes once more a debatable land between East and West. Japan has sought the road westward from Korea and Vladivostok, partly for colonisation and partly because the occupation of Eastern Siberia and Mongolia would facilitate the exploitation of the mineral wealth of North China.

The Outlook.

The political map of Europe, and in a lesser degree the map of the whole world, has been reconstructed. Inevitably this reallocation of territory will give rise to bitter feeling—the seeds of another war. Fortunately, the political map is but one aspect of the aftermath of war. The terrible experiences of five years have given men a new outlook, a desire that the new social order should ensure not only a higher standard of comfort for all, but the recognition of the world as one and indivisible, wherein the mutual hostility of the past shall be replaced by the mutual aid of the future. The League of Nations is the formal expression of this great ideal, but it can only live in reality when all men have a sympathetic world outlook and a desire to serve, not only their own interests, but the interests of mankind.

SPECIAL QUESTIONS

1. "A vast central mass of land stretching right across the inland parts of Eurasia sends forth a system of peninsulas and islands to the north and south. And it is in the peninsular lands of Europe that European history begins." Explain, commenting on the position of France relative to the northern and southern systems.

2. "French supremacy in Western and Central Europe rested on the lack of unity and the denationalisation and dismemberment of Germany, which lacked an effective organisation and the possession of a capital as the centre of a German national life." Explain, and comment on the relative positions of France and Germany in the nineteenth century.

3. "That the Rhine should be the gage of European battle is due both to geography and history." Give a brief explanation, with data.

4. "Geography has denied Poland either natural boundaries or defensible frontiers." Show how this affected both the rise and fall of Poland. What other factors must be taken into account? What reasons can you give for the survival of a Polish race and the revival of a Polish state?

5. "For the first time (*i.e.*, 1815) in the history of this House, the Habsburg Emperor ruled over a state geographically compact; but the settlement of 1815 did not solve the dilemma that the geographical position and racial diversity continuously imposed on statesmanship at Vienna." Comment on this statement in the light of later events.

6. "If Petrograd had been Peter the Great's 'window into Europe,' Constantinople was the door to sea-power and equality of opportunity in the West." How far can you justify this statement?

7. "Both for Austria and Russia the fate of Turkey was inextricably bound up with the fate of Poland." Explain.

8. "Industrialisation has radically altered the whole scale of political 'values.'" Explain, and apply to (i.) Alsace-Lorraine, (ii.) the Rhine, (iii.) Silesia.

9. "The history of the northern coast of Africa from Morocco to the peninsula of Sinai and Syria is primarily European, secondarily Asiatic, and only in the last degree African." Justify this by history.

10. "Mastery of the arterial rivers of a huge continent is a brief expression of the great truth that political power follows and rests on the trunk waterways. What the Danube, the Rhine, and the Vistula have been to the Europe of the past, the Nile, the Zambesi, the Niger, and the Congo will be to the Africa of the future. For a great river can be the perpetual cradle of a great civilisation." Discuss.

11. "The fate of Turkey-in-Europe could not be separated from the fate of Turkey-in-Asia." Justify this statement by reference to the affairs of Turkey during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

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